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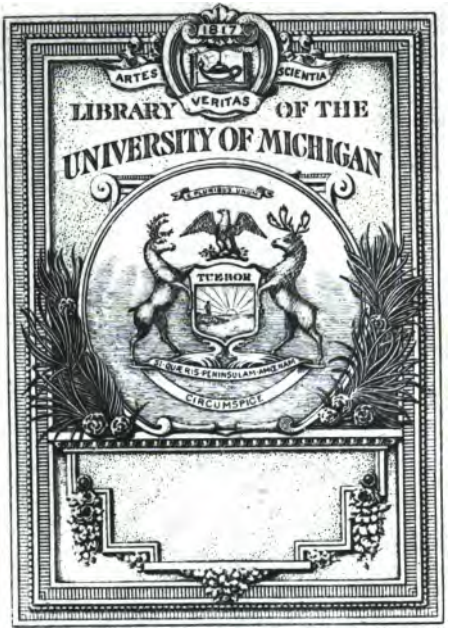
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THE

Politician's Dictionary;

Or, a SUMMARY of

POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE

Politician's Dictionary;

Or, a SUMMARY of

POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE:

Containing Remarks on the

INTERESTS,
CONNECTIONS,
FORCES,
REVENUES,
WEALTH,
CREDIT,
DEBTS,
TAXES,
COMMERCE, and
MANUFACTURES

Of the different STATES of EUROPE.

Alphabetically digested

For the Use of those who would wish to understand whatever occurs in the SCIENCE of POLITICS.

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INTRODUCTION.

POLITICS in this age embrace ſuch a variety of knowledge, and are ſo intimately connected with numerous intereſting ſubjects, that more than a ſlight or ſuperficial attention is neceſſary, in order to become tolerably acquainted with the groundwork of the ſcience, if we may be allowed ſo to call it. It includes the univerſal intereſts of all ſtates and kingdoms, their wealth, force, revenues, conſtitution, commerce, manufactures, agriculture, &c. ſo far as they combine to form Power. Hence, therefore, the ſublimer parts of Geography are taken in: Hiſtory deſcribes the progreſs of this power; and, to the knowledge of the times, which is oftener talked of than met with, we muſt have recourſe for the preſent ſtate of all theſe circumſtances, with thoſe tranſitory changes, that ſometimes appear trivial, but afterwards turn out to be of great moment.

That

That the gentleman who would attain a ſound knowledge of politics, may find this work of real uſe to him, we have been careful to render it a comprehenſive table of theſe various ſubjects. We have ſelected with all the judgment we are maſters of, the beſt information in politics, commerce, manufactures, national agriculture, war, forces, revenues, credit, debts, taxes, navigation, &c. that is to be found in various books and tracts the beſt calculated for yielding the deſired knowledge; and we have farther given original information on various points, in which former writers have been moſt defective.

We have endeavoured to execute this plan in ſuch a manner, that every perſon who in reading, or converſation, meets with a ſubject in politics, or aſſertions on topics that he is not familiar with, may, by turning to this Dictionary, find the beſt information on ſuch ſubjects, or ſuch points, that the beſt books can give him. The uſe, therefore, of ſuch a work, to thoſe who have not always time to turn over many books, muſt be obvious; and the more particularly, as we have been

been attentive to inſert no paſſages but what are of ſterling merit.

Scarcely any affair has of late years drawn the attention of Europe but is here to be found, elucidated by the beſt writers of the age: we would not, however, be underſtood to mean the perſonal factions and politics that diſtract this iſland, and which ſucceed each other with ſuch rapidity, that in ten years the whole is in oblivion: theſe are not our objects, but national diſputes; the growth of one power, the declenſion of another; the progreſs and variations of the trade of Europe: theſe branch out into ſuch a variety of intereſts, that not a common paragraph of a newſpaper can be underſtood without a general idea of them.

If the eſſays we have ourſelves compoſed for this work ſhould be found defective, they will be ſheltered under the general merit of the reſt, which are carefully, and we hope judiciouſly ſelected from every conſiderable writer, whoſe works could throw a light on the ſubject: and the ſingularity of the deſign, no other ſuch work being extant, will probably render it intereſting. We have Dictionaries of trade, of war, of marine affairs,

of

of manufactures, of agriculture, of geography, &c. but none of politics, which compriſe the ſpirit of all the reſt.

THE

THE

POLITICIAN's DICTIONARY:

Or, Circle of

POLITICAL OECONOMY.

ACAPULCO, a famous ſea-port-town in Spaniſh America, ſituated on the South-Sea, from whence the ſhips, called Acapulco ſhips, ſet ſail for Manilla, carrying on the commerce between Spaniſh America and the Philippine iſlands. They ſend out two ſhips every year, and receive two back. The burden, or cargo, which theſe ſhips carry, is very great; the ordinary loading, beſides their guns and ſtores, being from one thouſand to one thouſand one hundred ton each; and they had one many years which carried one thouſand ſix hundred tons.

Theſe ſhips are always full loaden outwards with European goods, beſides the ſilver; and bring back likewiſe a full loading of all ſorts of Eaſt India and China goods. All theſe goods both out and home, except what are ſent ſouthward to Panama and Lima, are carried by land carriage from and to Mexico, which is about two hundred and forty

miles; and these goods by computation, besides what may go to Lima and that way, cannot be less than four thousand ton in weight, that is two thousand ton one way, and two thousand the other. This increases the trade of the country in the employment of people, horses, mules, and carriages.

The Acapulco ships carry all sorts of European goods from America; and these furnish the Spaniards therewith at Manilla chiefly, and the Indians at the Philippine islands in general, whom the Spaniards have taught to go cloathed after the Spanish manner, with all kinds of European manufactures: some of these are also sold to the Moulayans, and the Indians of all the coasts and islands contiguous; but much more considerable in value are the utensils, weapons, fire-arms, workmen's tools, and all the heavy goods made of iron and brass, which are brought from Acapulco, and vended amongst all these Indians to great advantage; also unwrought iron, or iron in bars, is brought from Old Spain to Acapulco, and carried from thence to Manilla: and here the Chinese and Japonese, who are the best cutlers in India, and make all manner of utensils, purchase large quantities of iron and brass of the Spaniards. Both Chinese and Japonese are pretty curious workers in most kind of hard ware in gold and silver; they are good founders, turners, goldsmiths, and locksmiths, but not good gunsmiths, nor good sword-blade makers.

As for the manufactures of woollen, linen, or silk, they are of small use except to the Spaniards, the Chinese and Japonese supplying themselves with cotton manufactures of all kinds, such as muslins, callicoes, &c. The product of the Philippines is in itself rich, and infinitely valuable among the Spaniards, particularly their estimable per-

perfumes, which being originals, and the produce of mere nature, are extremely clean when they come to New Spain, as ambergreaſe, civet, bezoar, &c. alſo very large pearls of a good colour. Gold is found in almoſt the pure metal, and of the moſt perfect quality in the rivers: they ſend about the value of fifty thouſand doubloons a year to New Spain in this metal only. How that agrees with the account ſome give us, that this country coſts the king of Spain two hundred and fifty-one thouſand pieces of eight a year to ſupport it more than the produce, is not eaſily reconcilable; we are rather of opinion, that they ſupply the treaſury of Spain with theſe fifty thouſand doubloons in gold every year, as the product of this government: for if it were otherwiſe, how ſhould the governors, who live in ſuch ſtate and pomp that ſome foreign princes do not equal, lay up ſuch immenſe ſums in eight years of their government (for ſo long they continue at the Philippines) and appear ſo rich in Europe as it is ſaid they do? For we are told, that they generally return back to Europe, or to Acapulco, with a treaſure of two millions of pieces of eight, or more. They have alſo great plenty of honey and wax, caſſia, aloes, gum-arabic, ſago, camphire, &c.

The articles are very conſiderable that enable the Spaniards to make ſo rich a return to America by the Acapulco ſhips. They have the richeſt ſpices of the Eaſt, drugs, diamonds, gold, muſlins, callicoes, china, taffaties, rich atlaſſes, and ſeveral other ſorts of the richeſt wrought ſilks, china ware, tea, fine laquered ware, cabinet work, tables, ſcreens, umbrellas, and other niceties of the country. Thus the Philippines, by the courſe of their neighbouring trade, are furniſhed with ſtores of merchandize for making their returns to Acapulco, and that in a manner fully to the ſatisfaction

of the Spaniards, who uſually make a profit of four for one in all the goods they ſend from Acapulco to Manilla.

By the ſize of the Acapulco ſhips they are the more ſecure againſt pirates and rovers, who cannot eaſily hurt them; for they dare not, as the ſeamen term it, lay by their ſide, for they have all three decks, and carry large guns of twenty-four to thirty pound ball, which the ſmaller ſhips cannot bear the ſhot of. On the other hand, the ſmaller ſhips can hardly, except by fire only, any way hurt the great ſhips, and to burn them, does not anſwer the pirates end. When Rogers and Cooke attacked the Acapulco ſhips, they ſaw them both, and took the ſmalleſt ſhip of about four or five hundred tons. When they came to attack the great one, they could make nothing of it, every ſhot they received made them tremble, and ſtand of to ſtop the leak; whereas the ſhot they made at the carrac ſtuck in her ſides, but could not go thro'; and when they thought to board her, ſhe boomed them off with great pieces of timber, thruſt out by the multitude of her hands, for ſhe had, paſſengers included, above eight hundred men on board her; and when they found ſhe began to open her lower tier of ports, and to put out guns, which were thirty-ſix pounders at leaſt, they durſt come near her no more, though they were three ſhips to one.

Thus in caſe of a war, or of rovers and pirates, the Spaniards ſeem to judge right in ſending great ſhips as the moſt ſecure; and their main end is hereby anſwered, for two ſhips at this rate carry as many goods as twelve, or more, of two hundred tons each would do; and it appears that the goods they bring are a very great quantity, and of great value; for, at their arrival, they occaſion a fair at Acapulco as great, in proportion, as that at Porto Bello, when the galleons fr New Spain arrive there;

there; and the merchants repair to Acapulco from Mexico, Lima, Cuſco, and all the capital trading places of Peru, even from Chili itſelf, to buy the rich goods they bring, which fair ſometimes continues thirty days; and it is not one or two, no, nor ten of twenty ſhips only, that attend to carry off the goods, beſides the great quantities that are carried upon mules and other beaſts of burden *.

It was one of theſe ſhips that commodore Anſon took, which was worth three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds.

As it is ſufficiently obvious, that the greateſt ſhare of the treaſure returned from Acapulco to Manilla does not remain in that place, but is again diſperſed into different parts of India; and as all European nations have generally eſteemed it good policy to keep their American ſettlements in an immediate dependence on the mother country, without permitting them to carry on directly any gainful traffic with other powers; theſe conſiderations have occaſioned many remonſtrances to be preſented to the court of Spain againſt this Indian trade allowed to the kingdom of Mexico. It has been urged that the ſilk manufactures of Valencia, and other parts of Spain, are hereby greatly prejudiced, and the linens carried from Cadiz much injured in their ſale; ſince the Chineſe ſilks, coming almoſt directly to Acapulco, can be afforded conſiderably cheaper there than any European manufactures of equal goodneſs, and the cotton from the Coromandel coaſt, make the European linens nearly uſeleſs: ſo that the Manilla trade renders both Mexico and Peru leſs dependant upon Spain for a ſupply of their neceſſities than they ought to be; and exhauſts thoſe countries of a conſiderable

* Poſtlethwayte's Dictionary of Commerce, Vol. I. Art, Acapulco.

quantity of ſilver, the greateſt part of which, were this trade prohibited, would center in Spain, either in payment for Spaniſh commodities, or in gains to the Spaniſh merchants: whereas, now, the only advantage which ariſes from it is the enriching the Jeſuits, and a few particular perſons beſides, at the other end of the world. Theſe arguments did ſo far influence Don Joſeph Patinho, who was formerly prime miniſter, and an enemy to the Jeſuits, that about the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-five, he had reſolved to aboliſh this trade, and to have permitted no Indian commodities to be introduced into any of the Spaniſh ports in the Weſt Indies, except ſuch as were brought thither by the regiſter ſhips from Europe; but the powerful intrigues of the Jeſuits prevented this regulation from taking place.

This trade from Manilla to Acapulco, and back again, is uſually carried on in one, or at moſt two, annual ſhips, which ſet ſail from Manilla about July, and arrive at Acapulco in December, January, or February following, and having there diſpoſed of their effects, return for Manilla ſome time in March, where they generally arrive in June, ſo that the whole voyage takes up very near an entire year *.

ACTION. Stock in the Eaſt India Company of France, and in the funds of that nation under government ſecurity, is called actions. We in England ſay, that India ſtock is at 150, &c. but the language in France is, that actions in the India company are worth 82, &c.

ADMINISTRATION, the term which of late years has in England been ſubſtituted for miniſtry. Inſtead of ſaying, "the miniſtry will do ſo and ſo;" the cant phraſe is to ſay, "adminiſtration will do

* Anſon's Voyage, 12mo. 9th Edit. p. 212.

ſo

ſo and ſo." Nor is it lord Chatham's miniſtry, lord Rockingham's miniſtry, &c. but "lord Rockingham's adminiſtration." Such variations are the mode of the day; but the politician muſt learn the cant of the times, whatever it may be, leſt his neglect be conſtrued ignorance by the wits lings of the anti-chamber.

ADMIRAL, (*lord high, or the commiſſioners executing the office*) one of the greateſt officers under the crown of England. Since prince George of Denmark, who poſſeſſed it, it has, like moſt of the other great offices, been in commiſſion; which conduct in our government has not been on account of the office conferring too much power on an individual, ſince the firſt lord in the commiſſion has all the power, in fact, of the lord high admiral; but merely for the ſake of creating ſeven lucrative places, inſtead of one: a firſt lord at three thouſand pounds a year, and ſix others at one thouſand pounds each, every one of whom at preſent are members of parliament. The motive of ſplitting the office is, therefore, very apparent.

ADMIRAL, the commander of a fleet not a commodore. It is one of the moſt honourable military officers that is in Europe, and peculiarly ſo in England. His power and conſequence is, in many caſes, much greater than that of the commander of an army. Peter the Great uſed to ſay, that an Engliſh admiral was much greater than a czar. In all the wars that have happened between Great Britain and France, in one of which the French fleet was triumphant for a ſhort time, no Engliſh admiral has ever ſtruck to a French one: indeed there would, in the opinion of the public, be ſo great a degree of infamy and diſhonour in ſuch an action, that however reaſonable or not, the public idea runs upon the impoſſibility of the event; and this ſhews ſuch a ſuperiority in all marine affairs,

that it is very wonderful we have not made a more profitable uſe of it, by avoiding continental land wars, in which we are ever ſure of having the worſt of it.

An admiral, when out of the Britiſh channel, appoints all officers as vacancies happen, who are generally confirmed by the admiralty, unleſs there happen ſome particular reaſons to the contrary.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, a town in Leige, mentioned here on account of the treaty of peace concluded there in 1748, which terminated the war, commonly called that of 1741; a treaty which was one of the worſt that was ever framed for this country. It is true, there is ſome extenuation, though very little, for the Newcaſtle miniſtry who made it, on account of the rapid progreſs of marſhal Saxe in over-running Flanders, the Dutch barrier being taken and deſtroyed, and the French army ready to penetrate into the heart of the United Provinces, a turn of affairs which that people well deſerved, for tying down their commanders to ſuch inſtructions as occaſioned the loſs of the battle of Fontenoy. Our miniſtry were fearful, and with ſome reaſon, that the Dutch would patch up, at all events, a ſeparate peace, which muſt have been attended with bad effects: but, on the other hand, it is to be remembered, that we had 30,000 excellent Ruſſian troops upon full march to join the allied army in Flanders, were actually arrived on the frontiers of Germany, and would infallibly, had the junction been effected, have given a ſuperiority againſt the arms of France. Another circumſtance yet more important, was the ſtarving condition of all the provinces of France, which carried away immenſe ſums from the kingdom, to the impoveriſhing even the royal revenues, and the deſtruction of a great number of people. All the French writers attribute the ſuſpenſion of arms agreed to in Flanders to this cauſe, and conſider this treaty of peace

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as a ſacrifice of the advantages of France, in order to ſave herſelf from being entirely ſtarved. Theſe certainly are circumſtances which ought to have had more weight with the Engliſh miniſters than they had; not that moderate people expected a good peace after an unſucceſsful war; but they expected ſomething more than a truce, full of the ſeeds of future wars. American affairs and limits were left in the moſt ſcandalous confuſion, with no other proſpect of ſettling them than the determination of commiſſioners. The French immediately took advantage of this, and the year after the peace was ſigned, viz. in 1749, began their encroachments upon our colonies by erecting forts far within our limits, and advancing from one ſtep to another, till they threatened to drive our coloniſts into the ſea, and produced in ſix years only the laſt war equally againſt the intereſts of both nations. A very middling politician might have predicted the event of ſuch a conduct, and it ought certainly to have prevented ſo precipitate a negotiation: but if the urgency of the war required us, at leaſt, to treat, it ſurely did not require the leaving ſo many diſputable points to the deciſion of commiſſaries. In all the treaties of peace which this nation has concluded with her neighbours, ſhe has ever found the benefit of clear and explicit terms, ſuch as can be palpably underſtood, definitive, and excluſive of all explanations and after-reckonings: a leſſon which ought eternally to be in the minds of every negotiator.

AFRICA, a quarter of the world too well known by name to need a geographical deſcription of the ſeveral empires and kingdoms, of which part of it conſiſts. But the politician and ſtates-man ought to view it in a different light, as a country, an immenſe part of which deſerves the name of a *terra incognita* as much as the great ſouthern continent itſelf. It is extremely amazing to reflect on a quarter of the world, by far more extenſive than Europe entire,

entire, and adjoining to it, ſhould at this day be known only on the coaſts: the jealouſy of trade ſo great in Europe among all the trading powers, each ſolicitous for the preſervation of their markets, and anxious for extending them, however ſmall the profit: all fearful above every other evil of a decline in manufactures, and complaining inceſſantly of the leaſt appearance of decay; and yet all of them looking with ſo much unconcern on the immenſe African territories totally unknown, as if no new markets for European manufactures and products could poſſibly be diſcovered in them. Deducting every part of Africa, which is at all known to European traders, there remains a country much greater than Europe. From the ſlight accounts which we have had of theſe countries, it is evident that they are full of people, yet we have no connection with them. Can it be doubted that theſe people would be glad to traffic their products, the richneſs of which cannot be doubted from the climate, for the manufactures of this part of the world? We carry on a moſt advantageous trade to the coaſt of Guinea, excluſive of that for ſlaves, ſufficient to convince us that thoſe people are very deſirous of acquiring, by trade and exchange, our commodities; and we have little reaſon to doubt but this alſo would be the caſe with other numerous nations, had we but the induſtry to open a communication with them. Something of this ſort might be done, by making proper expeditions up the country from the ſettlements we poſſeſs there: we have yet had no good accounts of the navigation of the rivers Senegal and Gambia; if they were penetrated by people properly choſen for ſuch expeditions, well provided, armed, and victualled, and not truſted only to merchants and military men, but the parties accompanied by ſome men of ſcience, as geographers, naturaliſts, particularly botaniſts, and others ſkilled in

mineralogy, the countries would then be really diſcovered, and we ſhould become acquainted with the probabilities of converting them to uſe. I am ſenſible that there are always men who are ready enough to ridicule any ſuch plans as this; and we alſo know that Spain was full of thoſe who laughed Columbus to ſcorn, and indeed every great ſucceisful, as well as unſucceſsful projector, as difficulties abound in all ſuch enterprizes; but a great, trading, wealthy, and brave nation, ſhould always wiſh for governors of another ſtamp. Conſidering the climates in which the unknown parts of Africa are ſituated, we have no reaſon to doubt their being among the richeſt countries in the world, and producing gold, ivory, frankincenſe, myrrh, aloes, caſſia, and precious ſtones, all which commodities we know are readily bartered by every people poſſeſſing them in all that part of the world, in exchange for our products and manufactures.

The ſituation of Africa, ſays Mr. Poſtlethwayte, for commerce, is certainly beyond either of the other quarters of the world. It ſtands, as it were, in the center between the other three, and has thereby a much nearer communication with Europe, Aſia, and America, than any other quarter has with the reſt.

1ſt. It is oppoſite Europe, in the Mediterranean, for almoſt a thouſand miles in a line eaſt and weſt, from beyond Tripoly, to Cape Spartel at the Streights mouth; the diſtance ſeldom one hundred miles, no where one hundred leagues, and not often twenty leagues.

2d. It is oppoſite Aſia for all the length of the Red Sea north and ſouth, the diſtance ſometimes being not above five leagues, ſeldom fifty; and it fronts all the ſouthern coaſt of Aſia, viz. the coaſt of Cilicia and that of India, though at a greater diſtance, yet much nearer than any other country. It is wonderfully accommodated for commerce by the interpoſition of iſlands from Madagaſcar to Malabar,

bar, and more particularly by means of the alternate trade winds, which render the navigation ſafe, eaſy, and conſtant.

3d. It alſo lies oppoſite to America, at about the diſtance of five hundred to ſeven hundred leagues, including the iſlands, for a coaſt of above two thouſand miles: whereas America no where joins Europe, except where it may be a terra incognita, under a diſtance of a thouſand leagues, and not Aſia under that of two thouſand five hundred.

The country is populous beyond credibility, the ſoil fruitful, the ſeaſons for the greateſt part mild, the air ſalubrious, and if once a turn for induſtry and the arts was introduced among them, a greater quantity of the European produce and manufactures might be exported thither than to any other country in the whole world; and as the natives in general ſtand in great need of European commodities, ſo they have the moſt valuable returns to make for them. This the Europeans experience from the ſhare of traffic they carry on with them at preſent.

It is melancholy to obſerve, that a country, which has near ten thouſand miles of ſea coaſt, and noble, large, and deep rivers, ſhould yet have no navigation; ſtreams penetrating into the very center of the country, but of no benefit to it; innumerable people, without knowledge of each other, correſpondence, or commerce.

AGIO, is a term uſed to expreſs the difference between the money of banks of depoſit, and current money or caſh. Such banks receive money only by a given ſtandard of purity; if a man engages to pay another one hundred ducats bank money, and ſatisfies his debt by a proportioned ſum in current caſh; for inſtance, one hundred and five ducats, then the agio is five per cent.

AGRICULTURE. Political writers call agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, the three pillars of a ſtate, and very juſtly, ſince every nation can flouriſh by theſe alone, and the degree of proſperity enjoyed by a people, muſt be proportioned to their ſucceſs in theſe three great purſuits. The practices of agriculture, in the various modes of cultivating the earth, are not the ſtateſman's objects of enquiry, but the degree of national encouragement due to the art in general; the compariſon of it with manufactures and commerce; the means of keeping a due balance between them, and, in caſes where argiculture is the moſt eſſential object, to aſcertain clearly that degree of attention which ſhould be given it, and the moſt proper means of effecting the wiſhed-for end, without any detriment to the other branches of a nation's induſtry. There are very few diſquiſitions in the circle of politics ſo important as this, or which demands more attention, nor any concerning which authors are more divided.

Several writers have exerted themſelves much, in order to prove that agriculture alone ought to be the grand object of a nation's attempts in the road to greatneſs, and condemned the attention which is in ſome countries given to manufactures and commerce. Others, on the contrary, have ridiculed theſe ideas, and endeavoured to ſhew, that manufactures and trade are the means of gaining great wealth, and that agriculture ought to be conſidered merely as an art employed to feed men who are engaged in ſuperior occupations. In all ſuch diſputes, each party is generally beyond the mark; but the true politician will not be contented with a vague idea that truth lies between them; he will, on the contrary, be ſolicitous of diſcovering in what reſpect each are right, and in what they are wrong.

He cannot engage in any public buſineſs without having this queſtion come before him in ſome ſhape or other: he cannot even partake in converſation without feeling the neceſſity of making himſelf a maſter of this ſubject: this can only be done by ſtudying the arguments of the beſt authors on both ſides the queſtion, to aſſiſt him in which we ſhall give an analyſis of their reaſonings in ſuch extracts from their works as are moſt explanatory of their opinions, and the grounds on which they formed them.

An advocate for agriculture expreſſes himſelf in this manner: I apprehend it will be allowed by every one, that it is not only the number of a people that is the glory of a ſtate, but their employment.

The knowing preciſely what employments are moſt beneficial to the publick good is a matter of infinite conſequence, but not attended to with that care it deſerves. In a round of different profeſſions all muſt either abſolutely, or relatively depend on each other; and ſome amongſt them will be of that general importance, as in a great meaſure to be the foundation of all the reſt. It will require no long chain of reaſoning, to prove that ſuch primary profeſſions ought chiefly to be encouraged, as their well being will naturally give riſe to, and ſupport the ſecondary ones: ſuch a connection and dependence is conſequently natural.

Agriculture is beyond all doubt the foundation of every other art, buſineſs, or profeſſion; and it has therefore been the ideal policy of every wiſe and prudent people, to encourage it to the utmoſt. I call it ideal policy, ſince perfectly as its importance has been known, it has not always met with that care and attention that its worth requires; and the great political management in ſtates where manufactures and agriculture are encouraged, is to give due attention

ſon to both, but in every circumſtance to ſee that the wrong ſcale does not preponderate.

Is there any profeſſion or buſineſs which ought to be advanced to the height it is capable of, before others are encouraged which draw off the working hands from the former? The anſwer is clear, preciſe, and determinate: agriculture, that greateſt of all mannfactures*, ought to flouriſh to the full cultivation of the land, before what we commonly call manufactures take place as articles of trade and commerce; and after cultivation is at its height, thoſe manufactures ought firſt to be encouraged which work upon materials of our own growth, and, laſt of all, thoſe which employ foreign materials.

As agriculture, therefore, is the firſt and moſt important of all buſineſs, and the foundation which ſupports manufactures, let us enquire whether our agriculture is, at preſent, at that point of perfection to which it is capable of attaining; a tranſient view of the beſt cultivated countries will, at once, convince us of the contrary. Of the thirty-four million of acres ſaid to be in England, many millions are waſte or unimproved.

Is it not, therefore, an enquiry worthy of the utmoſt attention, whether the moſt material object of our care is not the cultivation of thoſe waſte acres? and whether all the hands employed in manufactures, &c. to the amount of thoſe neceſſary for ſuch culture, are not employed to the detriment of the ſtate? Provided they were otherwiſe employed than they are at preſent, it would be in the purpoſes of ſuch cultivation. The moſt impartial conſideration of theſe points leads me readily to anſwer, that all ſuch manufactures are prejudicial.

* Monteſquieu.

But

But let it not from hence be ſuppoſed that ſuch fabrics are hurtful, except when they come in competition with agriculture. In numerous caſes the annihilation of one would be miſchievous to the other; nor does it follow, that agriculture wants hands on account of the number employed by manufactures: the exiſtence of hands in huſbandry is of no uſe, unleſs encouragement ſets them to work *.

Another writer takes a different view of the ſubject, but with the ſame end in view. Holland is commonly quoted, ſays he, as the grand inſtance of a ſtate being independant without growing bread enough to keep its inhabitants from ſtarving. But if this ſituation can be called real independence, our ideas of the meaning of that word are very imperfect indeed; for it depends upon the neighbours of the Dutch to determine whether they ſhall ſtarve or not, a circumſtance which ſurely is ſtrongly expreſſive of dependence. It may be ſaid, that the improbability of ſuch a combination among all the neighbours of a ſtate is ſo great, that no concluſions can be drawn from the ſuppoſition; but the concluſion at preſent wanted is the poſſibility of the thing: and it ſhould be remembered, that it is the univerſality of the Dutch trade, and their being ſo truly a commercial people, that no branches come amiſs to them, provided they yield even the moſt trifling profits, which throws ſuch a conſtant plenty of corn into their markets, for the larger a general trade is, the more certain will be the ſupply of any ſingle commodity. If the Dutch trade in general was to fall, their plenty of corn would vaniſh likewiſe; for the intereſt which other nations would have in feeding them with it, would not effect a regular

* Farmer's Letters, Vol. I. p. 5. third edition.

ſupply.

ſupply. This truth is very obvious, from the caſe of thoſe countries which at preſent do not raiſe enough for their own uſe: how frequently do they pay even an exorbitant price, and yet cannot in ſome years keep from ſtarving, witneſs the Neapolitans; in ſome years, even the French themſelves. Whereas if thoſe nations were to make corn an article of conſtant trade, among many others, as the Dutch do, they would always, in the common courſe of affairs, be ſupplied; but even this ſupply would depend upon their trade at large, and upon the good will of their neighbours: for in the firſt place, the demand at home for corn not being conſtant but various, would not alone ſupport ſuch a commerce as would be neceſſary for commanding a ſufficiency; and in the next, an unforeſeen combination of political circumſtances, or an unthought of general ſcarcity, might cut off a ſupply from others. From all which circumſtances it may eaſily be deduced, that a nation that does not raiſe corn enough to feed itſelf, muſt, in the nature of things, be dependant for bread and life upon others.

Even the fertile kingdom of France, naturally ſo able to maintain a much greater number of inhabitants than ſhe poſſeſſes, has been entirely dependant on her neighbours for bread, and even on her greateſt enemy. It is very well remembered how the war of 1744 terminated, when the infinite diſtreſs of famine which fell on all France, not only obliged them to pay the Engliſh for vaſt quantities of corn, in ſpecie, but even neceſſitated them to conclude a peace, in the midſt of a career of conqueſt, and not the dread of a Ruſſian army, as ſome have fondly imagined. This dependancy of a people ſo amply provided with land, reſulted from a want of culture, which muſt have the ſame effects as a want of ſoil, and in many reſpects even worſe; for

the people that have no land, know they muſt be ſupplied by others, and trade accordingly; but thoſe who poſſeſs a fine fertile tract, conclude of courſe, that corn will be raiſed at home: but when fatal experience convinces them, that in order to have had it raiſed, it was neceſſary to have ſown, they are obliged to turn their eyes to their neighbours, and then muſt be ſupplied in that imperfect manner, which is ever the conſequence of a great demand put off to the moment of conſumption. Witneſs France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and all countries extremely fertile.

National independency can, therefore, reſult alone from agriculture, not from poſſeſſing a rich ſoil, but from the due cultivation of it. If a nation relies on being ſupplied by her neighbours in the hours of want, ſhe will be totally dependant on them, without having her neceſſities totally removed; for when once a famine begins to ſhew itſelf, all the ſudden importations that art and ſpeed can deviſe, will not be able entirely to ſtop it. Either the extent of the want is not known till too late, or the inland carriage or freight is too difficult; for we generally ſee great numbers ſtarved, while abundance of ſhips arrive in their ports with corn. This was the caſe in France in 1748, and at Naples a few years ago. If, on the other hand, a nation depends on a regular trade for her corn, ſhe muſt, like the Dutch, be liable to combinations among her neighbours, which are poſſible, and may prove her ruin, and at the ſame time will find her very exiſtence to depend upon her commerce at large; and as nothing is more fluctuating than trade, ſuch a dependance, every one will allow, is far different from that on agriculture.

But it may be ſaid, how are any people to depend abſolutely on agriculture? and who are they that do depend upon it alone? When a nation is ſaid

to

to depend on agriculture, it is not to be underſtood that ſhe, literally ſpeaking, depends on nothing elſe: ſome manufactures are equally neceſſary, ſince the buſineſs of cultivation cannot be carried on without a great variety of carriages and implements, nor can the profit of cattle be extended to its natural height, without manufactures of wool and leather: it would be a very great abſurdity in any people to follow agriculture, ſo univerſally, as to buy their ſhoes and cloaths of foreigners. All that is meant by the aſſertion, is the depending chiefly on agriculture, not chiefly on commerce, like the Dutch; on mines, like the Spaniards; or on manufactures, as the French did till lately, and yet do in too great a degree. Theſe inſtances will, I apprehend, ſufficiently explain the meaning of the term.

In anſwer, therefore, to the above query it may be replied, that the Switzers depend on agriculture. They poſſeſs ſome commerce in the ſuperfluous quantity of their ſoil's productions, and many neceſſary manufactures; but both are ſubſervient to their agriculture. Poland depends entirely upon her agriculture; Sweden and Denmark in a good meaſure; and if France ſucceeds in the attempt of exporting corn, manufactures will no longer be her principal aim, as they were, while reſtrictions were laid on huſbandry, in order to feed manufacturers the cheaper. Great Britain, likewiſe, depends chiefly on agriculture, but the aſſertion requires more limitations to be preciſe than any of the former ones; for beſides the dependance for the neceſſaries of the age, ſhe has involved herſelf by means of her public debts in another; if it was aſſerted that her entire dependance was upon agriculture, her ſoil muſt then not only yield a public revenue ſufficient for all the purpoſes of government, but likewiſe for the intereſt of her debts; and if it was found that ſuch impoſitions would be inſupportable

to a free people, then ſhe may clearly be ſaid to depend on an aggregate of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture.

It is no eaſy matter to diſcover preciſely in what degree Great Britain and France have of late years depended on their agriculture: the extraordinary ſupplies which the firſt has found requiſite for conducting her affairs have all been raiſed by means of credit and paper, if the tautology is allowed: and the foundation of this credit is laid in the aggregate of commerce and conſumption at large, to analize which is impoſſible; but there is great reaſon to believe that commerce in theſe matters of credit is conſidered much more than agriculture. The great fabrick of commerce, taxes, and credit, which is built in Holland, with ſcarce any ſoil for foundation, has operated ſtrongly on the imaginations of thoſe who have had the direction of Britiſh affairs.

France has been in very different ſituations; all her foreign commerce by ſea, which is by far the moſt conſiderable, has been ruined more than once, her manufactures of courſe have ſuffered ſeverely, her credit twice ſtruck dead; and, notwithſtanding theſe heavy ſtrokes, ſhe has managed to raiſe immenſe revenues, to conduct expenſive wars, and ſupply the moſt prodigal court in Europe with food for its luxury. What fund provided theſe beſides her agriculture? None but her inland trade to Germany and Switzerland, and the exportation of what manufactures ſhe could ſpare, and which foreign ſhips could carry out: all, beſides theſe, her agriculture ſupplied, which it is palpable was infinitely more than three times her commerce and manufactures could yield. If that kingdom, therefore, could, in the times of horrid confuſion, reſulting from ſuch a general ruin of trade, national bankruptcy, and an unſucceſsful war; if ſhe could, in ſuch

ſuch a period, ſupport a conſuming war, all the ordinary expences of government, and pay the intereſt of a prodigious debt by means of her agriculture, how much better might ſhe be able to flouriſh by it in times of peace and regularity with ſuch trade and manufactures as depended on it? It is extremely plain from this inſtance, that mighty kingdoms, even in this age of commerce, may exiſt and flouriſh by agriculture alone, as well as ſuch ſmall ſtates of Switzerland. If any doubt remained, ſurely quoting China would remove it in a moment. The moſt populous and richeſt empire upon earth, enjoys not trade enough to export their own manufactures in their own bottoms, nor manufacture a ſingle commodity that is not the produce of their own ſoil *.

There are many means, ſays a French author, for conducting a people to greatneſs; but if theſe means be founded on foreign cauſes, or pure accident, the power of ſuch people will be in a very precarious ſtate, becauſe the principle of its elevation takes not its ſource in the ſtate. There are in our political world many ſorts of powers, which may be diſtinguiſhed by the following appellations, the military power, the manufacturing power, the commercial power, the power by permiſſion, the power by general intereſt, and the power by treaty. According to the preſent ſtate of Europe we may apply the firſt to Pruſſia, the ſecond to Holland, the third to England, the fourth to the king of Sardinia, the fifth to Germany, and the ſixth to the Ottoman empire.

It is by arms that Pruſſia has elevated herſelf to greatneſs, manufactures have formed Holland, commerce has placed England in the rank of the firſt powers, permiſſion has left the king of Sardi-

* Political Eſſays, p. 76.

nia to aggrandize himſelf, the intereſts of Europe demand that Germany ſhould not change its maſter, and all its princes have, by tacit agreement, left the Turk in poſſeſſion of his ſtates.

But all theſe governments, in ſpite of the noiſe they make at preſent in the world, are always in a diſpoſition tending to a reverſe, becauſe their power is but a refinement: they might be deſtroyed, independantly of all the efforts which could be made to prevent it *. A combination in the forces of Europe, different from that which exiſts at preſent, might, at one ſtroke, annihilate Pruſſia.

The different nations on whom Holland has formed her power, have nothing to do but to retort the duties which her induſtry has laid upon them, for that republic no longer to be of any account.

England, conſidered purely as a commercial ſtate, might, in one moment or other, ſee her grandeur vaniſh. It would be ſufficient for this, that each government, for itſelf, adopted her ſyſtem of commerce.

New connections among other powers, might carry back the fortune of the duke of Savoy to the ſtate of that of his anceſtors.

The power of the confederated ſtates of Germany, if it was not the intereſt of many powers that it ſhould exiſt, would ſoon be at an end.

We cannot agree upon the diviſion of the ſpoils of the Turk, or, paſt queſtion, that empire would be no more.

The politician aſſerts, that theſe different connections are indiſſoluble, becauſe it is upon them that the equilibrium depends.

* Theſe are very paradoxical aſſertions, and the event of the laſt war has clearly ſhewn their entire falſhood; when a nation has once grown great, it is no ſuch very eaſy matter to deſtroy and annihilate it: beſides, his concluſions are founded on the moſt improbable of all ſuppoſitions.

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The combinations concerning the balance of Europe, form the fineſt ſpectacle of political reaſoning which ever the ſpirit of calculation gave birth to; but notwithſtanding what has been ſo well written upon that ſubject, it is contradicted by every days experience.

Holland has loſt two-thirds of her power by the very means which ſerved to form it.

England continually diminiſhes its force, in proportion as other ſtates enter into that commerce which ſhe has raiſed.

The eſtabliſhment of Don Philip in Italy, has given a mortal ſtroke to the power of the king of Sardinia.

Each emperor adds new chains to the confederate ſtates of Germany.

For the reſt, many ſtates might loſe their power, and even periſh, without the equilibrium of Europe being altered; becauſe what diminiſhes the force of one is always added to the others: thus the ballance may always exiſt.

Europe, taken in a body, can never be in a precarious ſtate; becauſe there is actually no power in the world that can be compared with it.

It is not the ſame with particular ſtates, who meaſuring continually their ſtrength the one with the other, are really more or leſs powerful.

It is this power of which I would ſpeak.

The real power of a ſtate is, that which has its baſis on agriculture: 1. Becauſe it is ſuperior to all foreign accidents. 2. Becauſe it is a creative power which fortifies the nerves of a ſtate in continually augmenting its riches. 3. Becauſe it is entirely real. 4. Becauſe its productions are independant of the prejudice, taſte, caprices, and extravagance of nations.

Agriculture does not only form a real power, but ſhe alſo eſtabliſhes a relative one. If we value

the want of ſubſiſtance in Europe, taken in a body at 175.000.000 l. ſterling of productions of the lands, or whatever other ſums may be ſuppoſed, it is certain that the nation which furniſhes moſt to the general population, will enjoy the relative power of the greateſt extent; becauſe that its productions, compared with thoſe of every other people in particular, are more conſiderable.

This nation being the leaſt dependant, and on whom other nations depend the moſt, ſhe will have the greateſt influence in the general affairs of the univerſal republick. The weakneſs of every people will allow none to meaſure with her in power.

It is fine to give different names to things; we muſt always come therefore to firſt principles, viz. that all which conſtitutes the power of ſtates, comes generally from the productions of the land; in which ſenſe it is therefore always abſolutely true to ſay, that the nation which has the moſt of theſe productions from its own ſoil, has therein the greateſt number of materials for conſtructing the edifice of her grandeur.

Without agriculture all power is precarious; without her, bravery is but a name, courage a chimera; the ſoldier himſelf owes to her his valour, for it is ſhe that feeds and cloaths him. The general owes to her the progreſs of all his operations, for it is ſhe that furniſhes ſubſiſtance to his armies.

Agriculture is the active mover of combats, the ſoul of victories, ſhe is the reſort of commerce, the foundation of manufactures, and the firſt cauſe of the augmentation of foreign riches. She only can give empire, by land and ſea, to the nation which eſtabliſhes, for a firſt principle, the welfare of her general adminiſtration.

Have we ever conſidered agriculture in France in all theſe points of view? Our government, otherwiſe

wiſe ſo enlightened, has it ever known its real intereſts in this reſpect?

We keep at a great expence ambaſſadors in all the courts of Europe, for watching continually the degree of the power of ſovereigns. We combine without ceaſing the force of all the monarchies of Europe; we ſtudy their intereſts, for being the better acquainted with their reſources.

The kingdom is full of politicians, our court of able miniſters, the council of our kings of able ſtateſmen, and our merchants gain upon thoſe of the other powers of Europe, as well by the extent of their intelligence, as by the great knowledge of their intereſts.

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We have perfected the art of war beyond other nations; our militia is well diſciplined, our troops are warlike, ſubordination and order are with them natural virtues, our arſenals are in great number, our ammunition abundant, our fortified places in a good ſtate, the capital of our riches in ſpecie is much greater than that of our enemies, and we have more reſources than they.

The docility of the people among us in ſubmitting to the wants of the ſtate (which favours the levies of new taxes) gives us in war a great advantage; the nation of itſelf brave, courageous, and in love with glory. The Frenchman is a patriot; notwithſtanding all this, the monarchy is in a precarious ſtate.

It is that we always forget among us that important maxim of which I have ſpoken, viz. that that government which has the beſt laws for the encouragement of agriculture, and which knows how to keep it in vigour, will become the moſt powerful.

It is in critical times that we muſt judge of the force of ſtates; that is to ſay, when the force is meaſured with that of others. A war of five or ſix years

years always diſcovers to us the weakneſs of ours.

The dream of the ruin of Holland began under Lewis XIV. and was going to be verified in our laſt war under Lewis XV.

Our generals had little to do to arrive at the gates of Amſterdam. That induſtrious nation, able in commerce, but always on the brink of ruin in war, had no reſource but to embark themſelves for the New Worlds, which are at their diſpoſal, when the want of corn, or, to ſpeak more properly, famine, which threatened many of our provinces, ſtopped our victorious arms in the very height of our conqueſts.

Happy for us that England, forgetting her ancient reſentments, would grant us an aſſiſtance which ſhe had a right to refuſe, and thereby we eſcaped the deſtruction which was otherwiſe inevitable to a part of the kingdom.

Of what conſequence is it to have armies the moſt numerous in the univerſe? Why be able to muſter five hundred thouſand men in arms, if it is only to exhibit to Europe the ſpectacle of our weakneſs, by the very cauſe which ought to raiſe our power.

We talk much of our conqueſts: within an age, France, ſay they, has added many great provinces to her ancient domain, but is ſhe become more powerful?

The weakneſs of a people augments in proportion as ſhe depends on others for the neceſſaries of life. This explains the problem. Foreigners furniſh us at preſent with more neceſſary things than we gain by our conqueſts. This augmentation of grandeur ſerves only therefore to diminiſh our real power.

Our politicians cannot conceal their aſtoniſhment in ſeeing England with two thirds fewer inhabitants, and by three times leſs land, hold in check the coloſſus

coloſſus of our greatneſs. But they might ſee that that government exiſts by itſelf; that it has a flouriſhing agriculture, much ſurpaſſing ours; the bad ſtate of which will allow us no compariſon.

No ſyſtem can ſupply the want of the firſt ſubſiſtence. No bread, no politicks. We muſt find the phyſical neceſſaries of the ſubject entirely within the ſtate. A monarchy, or any other government in the world, muſt always be in a precarious ſtate when its agriculture will not furniſh the means of ſubſiſting its inhabitants

A people can have neither force nor power when another continent gives them the means of exiſting.

There is no want of ſoldiers; there is no want of arms for deſtroying ſuch a people: it is only to refuſe them ſubſiſtence and you ſee them without reſource.

The kingdom of England in the diſputes it has with us, may eaſily forego the matters we furniſh them with, becauſe they are relative only to her delicacy and luxury: inſtead of which, we cannot do without what ſhe furniſhes us, becauſe they are relative to our firſt ſubſiſtence. The laſt war, which I have already cited as an example, is a proof: God knows where we ſhould have puſhed our conqueſts, if the want of corn, which we were accuſtomed to receive from that monarchy, had not formed a void in the general ſubſiſtence of the ſtate, which obliged us to receive the law from thoſe to whom our conqueſts gave us a right to dictate.

Whoever reads the hiſtories of our treaties of peace for ſixty years will find, that the fear of famine dictated almoſt all of them.

All our miniſters talk of manufactures, it is at preſent the language of the mode. It is very fine to boaſt the ſyſtem of the arts, but when they are not founded upon a flouriſhing agriculture, they always become the firſt cauſe of the ruin of ſtates.

It is clear, I repeat it here, that the riches which are produced by agriculture ought to be more conſidered than thoſe which are furniſhed by the arts *.

Now to reverſe the medal, I ſhall quote a modern politician, who has treated the importance of agriculture in a different light. Hence it plainly appears that in every light this matter can be repreſented, we ſtill find it impoſſible to employ, uſefully, above a certain part of the people in agriculture. The next queſtion is how to determine the juſt proportion for this purpoſe: we muſt have recourſe to facts, not to theory. In proportion to the culture of the ſoil, and to the number of crops it is made to produce, a greater or leſs number will be required; and in proportion to the ſurplus of food above what is neceſſary to maintain the labourers, will a number of free hands be provided for. If therefore a ſpecies of agriculture can be found eſtabliſhed, which produces little or no ſurplus there, little or no induſtry can be exerciſed, few wants can be ſupplied. This will produce a wonderful ſimplicity of manners, will ruin the ſyſtem of modern policy, and produce what I muſt call an abuſe. Let me look for ſome examples, in order to ſet this queſtion in a clearer light.

In the wine provinces of France, we find the lands, which lie round the villages, divided into very ſmall lots, and there cultivation is carried to a very extraordinary height. Theſe belong in property to the peaſants, who cultivate the vines. No frugality can be greater than in the conſumption of this produce; and the ſmalleſt weed that comes up among the grain, is turned to account for the food of animals. The produce of ſuch lands, I may ſay, is entirely conſumed by the proprietor and

* *Les interets de la France mal entendus*, 1756, tom. i. p. 2—30. This work has never been tranſlated into Engliſh.

his family, who are all employed in the cultivation, and there is no ſuperfluous quantity here produced for the maintenance of others. Does not this reſemble the diſtribution of lands made by the Romans in favour of five thouſand Sabine families, where each received two *plethra* of ground. Now let us examine the political ſtate of agriculture, and of other labour performed by the French vine-dreſſer.

By the ſuppoſition we may imply, that the bit of land is ſufficient for maintaining the man and his family, and nothing more; he has no grain to ſell, no food can be by him ſupplied to any other perſon whatever. But the ſtate of other lands capable of yielding a ſurplus, ſuch as the vineyard, produces a demand for his labour. This labour conſidered with reſpect to the vine-dreſſer, is a fund for providing all his wants in manufactures, ſalt, &c. and what is over muſt be conſidered as his profits, out of which he pays the royal impoſitions. The ſame labour, conſidered with regard to the proprietor of the vineyard, enters into that neceſſary deduction out of the fruits, which, when deducted, leaves the remainder, which we call ſurplus, or what anſwers to the land rent. This belongs to the proprietor, and becomes a fund for ſupplying all his wants.

Here we have an idea of ſociety; the vine-dreſſer depends upon the proprietor for the price of his labour; the proprietor upon the vine-dreſſer for his ſurplus. But did we ſuppoſe all the kingdom parcelled out, and laboured as the ſpot which lies around the village, what would become of the vine-dreſſer with regard to all his other wants; there would be no vines to dreſs, no ſurplus nouriſhment any where found, conſequently no employment, not even life, for thoſe who had no land. From this example we diſcover the difference between agriculture exerciſed as a trade, and as a direct means

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of ſubſiſting. We have the two ſpecies in the vine-dreſſer; he labours the vineyard as a trade, and his ſpot of ground for ſubſiſtence. We may further conclude, that as to the laſt part he is only uſeful to himſelf, but as to the firſt he is uſeful to the ſociety, and becomes a member of it; conſequently, were it not for his trade, the ſtate would loſe nothing, though the vine-dreſſer and his land were both ſwallowed up by an earthquake. The food and the conſumers would both diſappear together, without the leaſt political harm to any body; conſequently ſuch a ſpecies of agriculture is no benefit to a ſtate, and conſequently neither is that ſpecies of multiplication, implied by ſuch a diſtribution of property, any benefit. Thus an over extenſion of agriculture and diviſion of lands becomes an abuſe, and ſo conſequently does an over multiplication.

That number of huſbandmen, therefore, is the beſt, which can provide food for all the ſtate; and that number of inhabitants is the beſt, which is compatible with the full employment of every one of them *.

Another writer goes much further: land, ſays he, is in itſelf of little or no value to the owner; the ſolitary lord of a million of acres would be but a naked, defenceleſs, and miſerable creature, deſtitute of every convenience and bleſſing of life. A landed man's commodity, therefore, derives all its value from the commodities of others, ſuch as the labour of the huſbandman, the ſkill and toil of the artizan, the induſtry and property of the dealer, (who purchaſes, like all other people, the products of lands for conſumption) and the wealth and knowledge of the merchant who exports them.

Experience has long ſhewn that a people, by

* An Enquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy, Vol. I. p. 87.

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their ſkill and induſtry, may become rich, powerful, and happy, without the poſſeſſion of lands for agricultute, becauſe money will procure a ſure ſupply of ſuch products from other countries; but land without people is of no value at all. Why, therefore, all power ſhould be aſſumed by, and all preference in conſideration be given to the poſſeſſors of land in any country, is an enquiry worth making, but more eſpecially in a trading nation like ours. Yet ſuch has really become the caſe by making a landed qualification neceſſary for obtaining a ſeat among the repreſentatives of the people; and in moſt inſtances from having landed electors, or ſuch as are under the influence of men of landed property.

Agriculture, with its conſequent traffic, or by the mere trade in proviſions of any, or all kinds, never did materially, nor ever will enrich any country. There is no inſtance of its ſo doing to be produced in antient or modern times: Poland, Sicily, Sardinia, Naples, Greece, Barbary, and North America, are at preſent all ſtriking inſtances to the contrary. So likewiſe our ſugar iſlands (for their produce is a ſpecies of agriculture) are wretched countries, and of themſelves are incapable of defence: nay, ſuch was this very kingdom, till arts and trades became introduced into it, as appears from the many conqueſts that have been made of it. Such, likewiſe, is the caſe of Poland at this time, that land of immenſe agriculture. The bulk of inhabitants in Poland are actually as miſerable white ſlaves as thoſe of our ſugar iſlands are black ones; the wealthy few of either country being thoſe who monopolize the lands. The great wealth of our ſugar planters is entirely owing to our connections with their property, and the partial favour they obtain here. We give them their riches, and at the ſame time protect

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their property, which latter all the proprietors of lands in any one iſland would be unable to do themſelves. Neither could the land owners, with their farmers and plowmen, protect their own property here of themſelves, againſt the power even of the Dutch, if the iſland was inhabited by no other kind of people; nay, not even with adding to their numbers all artizans who could exiſt as workmen by their employ, and all who would be maintained by trade in their products. Few, likewiſe, would be the ſhips that could, by ſuch means, be kept in conſtant employment; and therefore thoſe of other nations would be chiefly uſed for that purpoſe, as is the caſe at preſent of all countries of mere agriculture, except North America.

Manufactures then, and trade in them, as every able writer acknowledges, and all obſervation and examples ſerve to prove, are undeniably the ſupports of extenſive population, by the abundant means which they furniſh of good employment to a people, and proportionably to induſtrious population, will every where be the degrees of national opulence and ſtrength *.

We ſhall cloſe this political view of agriculture with remarking, that writers who profeſſedly defend one profeſſion, and attack others, are in the very circumſtance prejudiced, and therefore ought to be read with caution. Sir James Stewart's obſervations on ſplitting the lands of a country into very ſmall properties, are extremely juſt, and ſhew that mere population is of very little conſequence, unleſs the people produced are induſtriouſly employed in the ſupport and welfare of the ſociety. The paſſages quoted from the *Farmers Letters* make it evident, that the firſt, greateſt, and moſt

* Conſiderations on the Policy, Commerce, and Circumſtances of this Kingdom, p. xvi. 92.

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important object of a ſtate is the culture of the ſoil, and that that ought to be far advanced towards perfection before manufactures receive any encouragement, ſuppoſing that encouragement comes in competition with the intereſts of agriculture. M. de Boulainvilliers's remarks are extremely pertinent to the ſame purpoſe, in the caſe of France, and are entirely undeniable. On the other hand, the author laſt quoted has ſome truth in his opinion, when he connects the idea of the offenſive power of a ſtate, with proſperous manufactures and commerce; agriculture alone, as he ſuppoſes it, certainly will not make a nation ſo potent as an aggregate of all three; this is a very true aſſertion, but it is a very uſeleſs one. But there is an argument which is fatal to ſuch violent notions in favour of manufactures and commerce excluſively: it is falſe to aſſert that experience has ſhewn a people may be happy and powerful without agriculture; no trading ſtate confined within walls was ever powerful, nor ever lived even in ſafety.

The Dutch are a commercial people, it is true, and their territory in Europe is no trifle; but that in the Indies and the Cape of Good Hope, upon which they equally depend, are immenſe. No nation exiſting depends alone on manufactures and commerce, but many do on agriculture; has it not then a plain ſuperiority?

But the politician, who ſees the ſtate to which ſome countries have been brought, and particularly our own, by a proper harmony of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, will ever be tender of ſacrificing either to the other. All certainly may be ſeparately encouraged without any detriment to the other; and this is the conduct which ought always to be purſued.

ALGIER, the capital of a kingdom of that name on the coaſt of Africa, under the protection of the grand ſeignor; it ſubſiſts by well known pyratical practices, which are ſuch a diſgrace to all the

kingdoms and ſtates of Europe. Their greateſt commerce conſiſts in the merchandize which they obtain by plunder of the Chriſtians over the whole Mediterranean, and in part of the ocean. The Corſairs are continually bringing in prizes with great numbers of Chriſtian ſlaves. Their marine is ſo ſtrong that they fit out every year twenty-two, or twenty-three veſſels, with three or four hundred men in each.

The Engliſh conſul, who is the only merchant of that nation at Algier, has the moſt profitable trade: he ſells to the republick powder, ſhot, bullets, grenadoes, hatchets, anchors, cordage, and other warlike ſtores when ſhe wants them; and the dey gives him, in return, oil, corn, and other proviſions, the exportation of which is prohibited to all others.

There was formerly a factory and conſul for the United Provinces, but he retired in the year 1716.

The Algerine Corſairs taking hardly any prizes at that time, the militia cauſed the divan to meet, and repreſented there, that they no longer met at ſea with any ſhips of the enemy; that all thoſe they happened to ſee were either Engliſh, French, or Dutch; and that the country, not being able to ſubſiſt without prizes, it was neceſſary to declare war with one of theſe three nations by a majority of votes.

Accordingly it was declared againſt Holland; whereupon they immediately ſtopped a veſſel of that nation, which was in the harbour, and the dey ſent orders to do the ſame in all the ports of the kingdom. He allowed to the Dutch conſul as much time as he pleaſed to ſettle his affairs; and affected to pity and ſolace him *.

ALLOY, The mixture of a baſer metal with gold or ſiver in coinage; which is done with a view to make a profit of the coinage, or to keep the coin of a country at home.

* Poſtlethwayte, Vol. I. Art. Algier.

AMAZONS, a great river which riſes near Quito in Peru; from its ſource to its falling into the Atlantic ocean is eight or nine hundred leagues in a ſtrait line, but windings make it one thouſand two hundred. Many rivers fall into it on the right and left, which have courſes of four, five, and ſix hundred leagues long; its channel from the ocean to within ſixty leagues of its head, is from three to twelve miles broad; but near the ſea grows much wider.

It is the largeſt river in the world, and runs thro' a vaſt and well peopled country, of which little is known†.

AMBASSADOR. The degree of wiſdom found in the politics of courts, is generally to be conjectured by the choice of ambaſſadors, than which no object in government is more important: all the great national intereſts are on many occaſions dependant on the penetration and talents of an ambaſſador; nothing, therefore, can be attended with worſe conſequences, than filling this poſt with perſons incapable to execute it with effect. This muſt appear clear to all the world, in reſpect of negotiations for peace, or treaties of alliance, or commerce; but it is not only on ſuch occaſions that a nation feels the truth of it: at periods when no negotiations are carrying on, it is of great importance that an ambaſſador ſhould have his buſineſs for ever in his attention. They are, in effect, privileged ſpies, maintained in foreign countries for the ſake of intelligence: they ought to gain information of every variation that is made in the forces by ſea and land, of the powers to whom they are ſent; they ſhould gain an exact knowledge of their revenues, debts, credit, taxes, and reſources; the progreſs and preſent ſtate of their commerce, manufactures, agriculture, &c. By this means they are always able to ſend home ſuch intelligence as is wanted, and learn the impor-

† Voyage up the river Amazons by M. de la Condamine.

tance of all measures, laws, edicts, discoveries, inventions, improvements, &c. and take due care that their country may be enabled to profit by them.

ALEXANDER the Great. The following character is drawn by a French writer. Alexander entered Asia, with an army of thirty thousand infantry, and five thousand cavalry. Darius was defeated, and Persia subdued by the arms of Macedon. Yet the plan of Philip remained unfinished. It consisted in diverting the Greeks from apprehensions of slavery; wasting the national strength that nourished their confidence; rendering obedience familiar; and in constituting an empire in which Greece must inevitably be included: this was the foundation of the Asiatic war. His son's motive of action, was characteristically different. The rage of conquest urged him to attack Darius. He wished to overturn, not establish, empires. An enterprize prudent in the hands of Philip, became rash in those of Alexander. The project of the father was to begin his expedition with the junction of two hundred and thirty thousand Greeks; thus reinforced, the hope of defeating Darius became a certainty, and he might rationally expect more durable success than Agesilaus, when, supported by the whole military force of Greece, he could have no interruptions to dread from attacks upon his hereditary dominions. The son demanded only a moderate reinforcement from his allies, an imprudence still more unjustifiable, as he was not ignorant of the jealousy of the Greeks, nor insensible that the Persians might with little difficulty, engage some of the neighbouring republics, to avail themselves of his absence, in the commission of acts of hostility.

If Darius had not been intimidated by the vast presumption of Alexander; if he had followed the wise advise of Mnemon, and imitated the policy of his predecessors, in a liberal dispensation of money to the Greeks; if he had invited those troops

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to his banner whom the enemy had neglected, is there not great probability that Alexander, who entered Aſia with as little prudence as Ageſilaus, would have ſhared his fate?

The inſatiable thirſt of fame, unquenched with the vaſt monarchy of Cyrus, which penetrated into India, meditated the conqueſt of Africa, and after reducing Spain and Gaul, would paſs the Alps, and re-enter Macedon, through ruined Italy, was extremely remote from the views of Philip, and ſubſtituted nothing rational in exchange: wherein does the glory of thoſe conqueſts conſiſt, whoſe ſole object is the depopulation of mankind? What appellation ought we to beſtow on a hero, who ſees only the proſpect before him, regardleſs of the dreary waſte behind? Who marching with the fury and impetuoſity of a torrent, deluges the earth with blood, is ſwept away from its face, leaving indelible traces of ruin and devaſtation? What hopes could Alexander indulge? What advantage could his country reap from victories ſo extenſive? Could he be ſo inſenſible, that greatneſs ſo extravagant, was never permanent? That to preſerve acquiſitions ſo enlarged, ſo rapidly obtained, ſo inadequate to the ſtrength of Macedon, was an abſolute impoſſibility *.

This is the common character of Alexander: we ſhall contraſt it with ſome obſervations that denote the hand of a maſter.

This great prince was exceedingly exact in committing to writing whatever occurred to him of importance, and this to the very laſt. When he was dead, they examined his table book, or, as the antients call them, his commentaries †, and therein they found theſe five ſchemes mentioned, as neceſſary to be put into execution, for eſtabliſhing and ſecuring the empire.

* Mably's Obſervations ſur les Grecs.

† Diodor. Sicul. lib. vii.

1. That a thouſand long ſhips of a larger ſize than any that were then in uſe, ſhould be built in Phænicia, Syria, Cilicia and Cyprus, in order to ſubdue the Carthaginians, and others inhabiting the ſea-coaſts of Africa and Spain, together with the adjacent iſlands, as far as Sicily. On this head, it is natural to obſerve, that Alexander had chiefly in view, in the bringing this project to bear, the eſtabliſhing a maritime power not to be diſputed with, which was in truth the thing of all others he moſt affected; as well knowing, that without maritime power, the wideſt empire is a priſon, the keys of which are in the hands of whatever ſtate is miſtreſs of the ſea.

2. That a plain and direct high road ſhould be made all through the coaſt of Africa, to the pillars of Hercules. This was properly added to the former, as conducive to the ſame deſign; for without ſuch a road, neither the dominions of thoſe coaſts could be ſecured, or the communication neceſſary for a free and univerſal commerce, be kept open. Such a road would, he foreſaw, prove ſo uſeful, and in a ſhort ſpace of time, be found ſo convenient, eſpecially in the hands of ſo wiſe a people as the Greeks, that it would prevent the country through which it paſſed, from falling under the yoke of barbarous maſters, and thereby preſerve the empire into whoſe hands ſoever it fell, in a great meaſure entire, as affording the means of keeping regular garriſons in convenient ſtations, and facilitating the march of ſuch bodies of troops as might be neceſſary for ſuppreſſing rebellions, ſo as to reach any part of that great ſpace of country in a very ſhort time.

3. That ſix magnificent temples ſhould be built, and the ſum of fifteen hundred talents be laid out on each of them. Another ſtroke of the ſame policy, in order that the concourſe of people to thoſe temples, ſhould maintain ſociety and acquaintance, pre-

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vent the revival of barbariſm, and inure all nations to the love of a free and general correſpondence, by the mingling frequently in the celebration of the ſame ſacred rites. This was very conſonant to his own conſtant practice of keeping up a great ſpirit of religion in his army, in which he found his account; and had the prieſts in every part of his dominions entirely devoted to his ſervice, which was the ſureſt means of keeping the people quiet. Yet it does not appear that he was a bigot, or aimed at obliging all nations to follow his ſentiments in religion, but rather the contrary; for he left the Jews, Perſians, Indians, and Ægyptians, the free exerciſe of their reſpective forms of worſhip, though they were all directly repugnant to his own.

4. That in convenient places, arſenals and havens ſhould be conſtructed for the reception and ſecurity of the royal navy. It is clear from hence that he intended his empire ſhould be protected and defended by a naval force. It was exactly comformable to his behaviour when in the Indies, and at Babylon, where he neglected nothing, ſpared no pains either of his own, or of his army, to diſcover every corner where he came, to examine the riſe and courſe of rivers, their mouths, and the means of rendering them ſerviceable, by the conſtruction of proper harbours and fortreſſes to protect them. This appeared fatiguing and uſeleſs to his Macedonians, who had always an eye to their own country, and conſidered all their conqueſts as acquiſitions to that little contemptible ſtate. But Alexander had other thoughts, and other views, as his intent was not only to conquer the beſt part of the univerſe, and to keep it when conquered, but to reduce it under a regular form of government, ſo beneficial to all his ſubjects, that they might find their private intereſts deeply concerned in maintaining the public regulations he meant to have eſtabliſhed.

5. That all the new cities he had founded, ſhould be planted with colonies, and that people ſhould be for that purpoſe tranſported out of Europe into Aſia, and out of Aſia into Europe, to the end, that by reciprocal marriages and intermixtures, peace and concord might be eſtabliſhed between the two great continents of the world. This was the point to which the other projects tended; this was the center of his deſigns, and the grand object of all his contrivances. The conſideration of this propoſition explains his whole conduct, and ſerves as a key to every one of his particular ſchemes. It was in order to this that he was ſo careful in ſubduing all the barbarous nations, in his return from India; that he took ſo much pains to have the coaſts of Perſia, and the Perſian gulph, ſo accurately examined; that he determined to reduce Arabia, that all the ſea coaſts on that ſide might be in his poſſeſſion; that he thought of diſcovering and ſurrounding Africa; and, in fine, that he framed, on the other hand, a reſolution of examining the coaſts, and ſubduing the nations that bordered on the Hyrcanian ſea.

He was not of the narrow ſpirit of his countrymen, who would have ſubjected all the world to Macedonia, but had a ſoul as capacious as the world he ſought to conquer. He did not, as many have imagined, ruſh on from victory to victory, from conqueſt to conqueſt, without knowing what he would be at, or when he would be contented; but proceeded uniformly, and on a regular plan, which he laid down early, and purſued ſteadily to the very day of his death, as appears by his attending, when he was ſo near it, to the journal of Nearchus, whoſe voyage had ſo cloſe a relation to his grand deſign.

His ſole principle of action, his ruling and ſovereign paſſion, was the conqueſt of the known world; from a notion, that under his direction, mankind might

might be new modelled, and his empire ſo conſtituted, as to maintain and ſupport itſelf.

It was this that induced him to reject all the propoſitions that were made him of peace; for, according to his ſcheme, there could be no peace, till he was maſter of all. This led him to deſtroy the city of Tyre, that he might put an end to their monopoly of trade, which was directly oppoſite to the ſyſtem he had formed, and was endeavouring to carry into execution. It was this that induced him to ſtay ſo long in Egypt, which has been cenſured by ſo many writers; becauſe they did not enter into his plan, or conceive the ultimate view of all his conqueſts. It was this that led him to the hazardous expedition to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and the ſole reaſon why he attempted to be thought the ſon of that god; from a notion that the ſovereign of the univerſe ſhould not be conſidered as the offspring of a man.

It was this that made him ſo deſirous of ſearching out new countries; not that he would ſpoil and plunder the inhabitants, for his army, when it had conquered the Indies, were in debt; but that, by acquiring new ſubjects, he might make a greater number of men happy: to ſum up all in a word, other great conquerors have had the poſſeſſion of the world in view as well as he; but Alexander was the only prince that ever thought of acquiring a title to that poſſeſſion, by making it the intereſt of all men, that he ſhould govern and command them.

The concern ſhewn by Alexander for the voyage of Nearchus, and the ſucceſs of it, is, generally ſpeaking, referred to his vanity or his ambition; yet if one conſiders it attentively, it is eaſy to perceive that there muſt have been ſome other motive: if we cloſely look into his conduct, we ſhall find that his ruling paſſion was the cauſe of keeping what he got; and this he knew could not be done but by a maritime force. It is true, that he eſtabliſhed colonies

nies and garriſons, from the rivers that run into the Caſpian Sea, to the very mouth of the Indus; but he eaſily foreſaw that, to ſecure thoſe garriſons, and to awe ſo vaſt a country, it was neceſſary to have a fleet; and he likewiſe very well knew, that he could make no uſe of this fleet, without being perfectly acquainted with the coaſt upon which it was to act: and this was the ſole ſubſtantial reaſon why he made ſuch a point of this expedition. Moſt of the hiſtorians, and even Arrian himſelf ſuggeſts, that he made that ruinous march through Gedroſia, that he might ſurpaſs Semiramis and Cyrus: but I think they were miſtaken; and, that the true cauſe of his marching through that country was, that he might not be at too great a diſtance from his fleet. It muſt at leaſt be allowed that this was a better reaſon, and the care he took in ſending proviſions to the coaſt, as ſoon as he had any, is, I think, a clear proof that this was his reaſon. I do not depend however on that alone, but on a multitude of circumſtances, that when collected together, and coolly conſidered, put it beyond diſpute. He was no ſooner informed by Nearchus, of the diſcoveries he had made, than he immediately took the neceſſary meaſures for having a potent fleet in the Indian ocean. It was for this reaſon that he ordered a great number of ſhips to be built by the Phenicians, and brought by land to Thapſacus. This was a city that ſtood on the river Euphrates, from whence they were to fall down to Babylon, where he likewiſe cauſed a haven to be made for their reception, and went in perſon from that city, down the Pallocopa, that he might ſee every thing diſpoſed for rendering their paſſage ſafe and eaſy into the Perſian Gulph. At the ſame time, he projected the circumnavigation of Arabia; and very probably the firſt ſervice he intended to have put this fleet upon, was the ſailing round into the Arabian gulph, whilſt he marched with an army by land, from Chaldea, into

into that country. When he had ſubdued Arabia, he might, and certainly would, have transferred all the trade of that country, and of the Eaſt Indies, to his new city of Alexandria: and it appears alſo, that he had taken the moſt effectual meaſures for making it the center alſo of the African trade. This ſcheme of his was afterwards purſued, and in ſome meaſure perfected by the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt. So much at preſent for this part of his project. Let us turn our eyes now to ſome other of his deſigns. There was actually preparing at the time of his death, a large fleet, which was to have been employed in the Hyrcanian, or Caſpian ſea; and there needs but a little attention to diſcern that, when he had perfected theſe two deſigns, all that vaſt country which he had ſubdued, would have been effectually in his power, becauſe thoſe provinces are bounded on the ſouth by one ſea, and on the north by the other. But this was not all; he had formed another deſign, which would have united them to his other dominions; for he was extremely inquiſitive as to the Pontus Euxinus, or Euxine ſea; and in time would have had a fleet there too: ſo that we need but caſt our eyes on any map of theſe countries, to be ſatisfied that he had framed and digeſted in his own mind, the eaſieſt and moſt probable method for maintaining all his conqueſts. We can hence alſo perfectly well account for his being ſo ſuddenly charmed with the ſituation of Babylon, the city in the world the beſt ſeated for becoming the head of ſuch an empire. It is true, that they are vaſt and prodigious deſigns; but then we are to conſider that they were the deſigns of a man who had made himſelf lord of the beſt part of the known world before he was thirty, which puts me in mind of what Lorenzo Gracian, a Spaniſh writer tells us of this conqueror, "The heart of Alexander (ſays he) was an arched heart, in a corner of which the world lay, and left room for many more." It is a bold and

and extravagant thought, but it is not eaſy to avoid ſentiments of this ſort, when one has long and attentively conſidered the actions of this man. After all, though his empire periſhed with himſelf, or at leaſt was ſplit into a multitude of pieces ſoon after he expired; though he did not live to perfect his ſchemes, and though hardly any of his ſucceſſors underſtood them, yet it has ſo fallen out, that from the wiſdom he ſhewed in contriving, and the right methods he took for perfecting them, all the projects of trade, and all the diſcoveries that have been made ſince, are in truth owing: for the Ptolemies firſt fixed the Indian trade to Alexandria; and the Romans, when they became maſters of Egypt, purſued it the ſame way. When the ſubjects of the Conſtantinopolitan empire found a way to come at a part of this trade by the Euxine, or, as we now call it, the Black-ſea, it was no more than a branch of one of his projects; and the ſame thing may be ſaid of the new trade by Aſtracan. It is true, indeed, that he knew of no ſuch place; but it is as true, that he meditated a deſign of eſtabliſhing a commerce by means of the Caſpian-ſea with the nothern part of the Indies, through the country of the Uſbeck Tartars, whoſe capital, Samarcand, how little ſoever known to us, was once his winter quarters. What has been already ſaid will ſufficiently ſhew, that as the ſtudy of hiſtory anſwers many other purpoſes, ſo it may be made to anſwer the noble purpoſe of promoting extenſive commerce, which is the greateſt benefit that can accrue to mankind. This, I think, is a ſufficent apology for the pains I have taken to explain and vindicate the character of this great prince: for ſure it cannot be better vindicated than by ſhewing, that, in the midſt of his conquests and victories, he did not, as ſome writers would perſuade us he did, forget that he was a man; but, on the contrary, kept conſtantly in view a character much ſuperior to that of the conqueror of the world; I mean that of being a friend and father

ther to mankind: a title which, whoever will weigh the nature and end of all his deſigns, can never ſee any reaſon to refuſe him*.

AMERICA, the fourth and laſt diſcovered quarter of the world, which we owe to the amazing genius and penetration of the great Columbus, whoſe idea was of that bold and daring kind, which never could enter the head of a man of middling capacity; in truth, he was the greateſt of the age he lived in. The diſcovery of this immenſe country has changed the face of the old world. A new one opening at once to our knowledge, brought with it new objects of all ſorts, new people, new animals, vegetables, minerals, diſeaſes, ideas, &c. The wealth which poured into Europe occaſioned many and great events, and changed the comparative ſtrength of many powers. A politician cannot reflect with too much care and attention on the effects which this great diſcovery had, ſince he can no where learn more important leſſons of the conſequence of induſtry, commerce, and manufactures. In proportion as the European nations depended on theſe ſupports, juſt in ſuch proportion has America turned out beneficial.

ANCHOR. There are ſeveral kinds of anchors: 1. The largeſt is called the ſheet-anchor, and is never uſed but in violent ſtorms, to hinder the ſhip from being driven aſhore. 2. The two bower anchors, or bowers, which are leſs, and are uſed for ſhips to ride in a road or harbour. They are alſo called the firſt and ſecond bower, or beſt and ſmall bower. 3. When a veſſel is brought up or down a river by the winds, tho' the tide be contrary to it, the ſea-men ſet their foreſail, foretop-ſail, and mizen ſail, and let her drive with the tide. If ſhe comes too near the ſhore, they have a little anchor ready, which is called the rodger, or redgo anchor, with a

* Harris's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 397—408.

hawſer faſtened to it from the ſhip, and this they drop in the middle of the current, by which means they wind her head about, after which they take up the anchor again. 4. The ſtream anchor is a ſmall one, made faſt to the ſtream cable for a ſhip to ride by, in gentle ſtreams and in fair weather. 5. The grapnel is an anchor for a ſmall ſhip or boat*.

ARTILLERY, the military nations of Europe have made many improvements in artillery. Among others the following deſerve attention. In an Auſtrian camp proof was made of eight pieces of cannon, made of hammered or forged iron, of a new invention; each piece firing one hundred times in fifteen minutes, without requiring to be cleaned once. Beſides the advantages of quickneſs in firing, the touch-holes, it was ſaid, ſuffered not in the leaſt by the number of diſcharges that were made.

Within a few months afterwards, to ſhew that the French would not be behind hand with the Auſtrians in that point, we had the following repeated account from Paris in all the foreign papers.

"We learn from Paris, that certificates have been produced there, from the officers of the marine in ſeveral parts of Normandy, in relation to the excellence of the new invented artillery made of forged iron, by which it appears, that one of theſe pieces, carrying a ball of twelve pounds, proved equal in every reſpect to one of braſs, and another of caſt iron of double the weight; and that theſe new invented cannon may be managed by half the number of hands."

Another account we had from Paris, July 4, 1750.

"The Sieur Dedorean, maſter of the iron works in Picardy, has found the ſecret of compleating a ſort

* Poſtlethwayte, Vol. I. Art. *Anchor*.

of

of cannon, by the help of which very extraordinary execution may be done, far ſuperior to any thing of the like kind. It is compoſed of hammered iron plates ſoldered together, which makes the piece lighter than ordinary, without being ſubject to burſt; or if by accident it ſhould fly, it may be immediately repaired on the ſpot, with the help only of the hammer and ſolder."

M. de la Valiere, lieutenant general of the artillery, very much commends this invention, a proof of which is to be made in the arſenal. The inventor flatters himſelf that he ſhall be able, with the aſſiſtance of one man only, to forge and complete fifty of thoſe guns in a year *.

ARMY, liſt of the PRUSSIAN during laſt war,

Cuiraſſiers	13,089
Dragoons	14,730
Huſſars and hunters	13,313
Infantry in the field	129,788
Free troops	3,560
Infantry in garriſon	19,542
Saxon regiments	21,480
Corps of engineers	100
Total	215,607

FRENCH ARMY in the year 1748.

INFANTRY.

	Batt.	Men.	Ann. pay.
Regular national foot	356	261,455	54,854,808
Foreign regular troops	84	59,183	16,099,717
Irregulars	13	9,569	2,596,073

* Poſtlethwayte, Vol. I. Art. *Artillery*.

CAVALRY.

CAVALRY.

	Squad.		
Regiments of horſe	301	47,531	32,130,455
Regiments of drag.	85	13,824	8,064,154
Irregulars	25	3,120	2,330,728
Batt. 453			
Squad. 411		395,382	116,075,937

In time of peace, ſays Dr. Campbell, the ſtanding forces of France are about 150,000 men; and, in time of war, it may be very fairly computed, that about this number is requiſite for the garriſons, the ſecurity of the coaſts, and the preſervation of the interior part of the kingdom; which will be ſtill more evident, if we conſider that one hundred and twelve battalions of militia, making upwards of eighty thouſand men, are included in the foregoing ſtate of the army. I was not conſequently in the wrong in ſuppoſing, that France could not bring many above two hundred thouſand men into the field, even when ſhe exerted herſelf to the utmoſt. We have likewiſe ſeen, that great as this force is, ſhe might have been attacked by the allies, if their engagements to each other had been punctually performed, with equal, if not ſuperior armies.

My next obſervation is as to the expence, which the reader ſees, for the bare ſubſiſtence of the troops, amounts to the whole ordinary revenue of France, or ſomewhat more than five millions ſterling. As to the extraordinaries of war, the ſubſidies to foreign powers, the expences of the navy, the charge of colonies, and many other particulars, they are totally excluded; and, I preſume, nobody will think that the computation is extravagant, if we conſider theſe as amounting to the like ſum. To all this we muſt add, the charge of the civil government, which, in a time of war, cannot be at all leſſened; and when we have done this, and brought

brought into the account the diſtreſſed condition of their trade, which manifeſts itſelf more and more ſince the concluſion of the peace, when traders attempting to draw their money out of the hands of thoſe who paid them intereſt for it, during the war, when they could not employ it in commerce, has occaſioned innumerable bankruptcies *.

French Army in 1755.

The French army, at the beginning of the preſent troubles, conſiſted only of one hundred and fifty-ſeven thouſand three hundred and forty-ſeven men, not including the militia and invalids. It was compoſed in the following manner:

French foot	98,330
Artillery	4,100
Foreign foot	25,589
King's houſhold, horſe	3,210
French horſe	14,520
Foreign horſe	960
Dragoons	7,680
Huſſars	800
Light troops	2,158
	157,347

In the month of Auguſt, 1755, an augmentation was made of four companies of forty-five men each, in every battalion of the king's regiment, and of four companies of forty men each in every common battalion of French foot, which made in all twenty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and twenty men.

About the ſame time an augmentation was made in the dragoons, which made up every regiment four ſquadrons, of ſix hundred and forty men, making in all two thouſand five hundred and ſixty men.

In the month of December of the ſame year, 1755, an augmentation was alſo made in the horſe of ten

* Preſent State of Europe, p. 300.

men a company, in all five thouſand five hundred and ſixty men.

The Royal volunteers, and Fiſcher's corps, were alſo augmented, we do not know exactly to what number; but according to our advices, this augmentation came to ſix hundred and eighty men, or thereabouts.

Theſe ſeveral augmentations amount to thirty-eight thouſand four hundred and twenty men; and conſequently the French army (without reckoning the militia and the invalids, which I put at above ſixty-ſeven thouſand men) is compoſed of one hundred ninety-ſix thouſand men. They have, it is true, raiſed two new regiments in the county of Liege; but notwithſtanding that, their regular troops are under two hundred thouſand men.

The iſlands of Minorca and Corſica, with the colonies in America, take up twenty five-thouſand men at leaſt; they embarked in the ſpring, three or four thouſand men for different ſervices in the two Indies. Marſhal d'Etree's army, if the regiments were completed, would amount to ninety-two thouſand men. Marſhal Richlieu's is thirty-two thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-five: and a body of ſix or ſeven thouſand men muſt alſo be reckoned, which they are obliged to keep in garriſon at Toulon, Marſeilles, Cetté, Antibes, &c. at hand, for that part of the coaſt.

According to this calculation there are 160,000 regular troops employed. There will remain about 40,000 men for all the garriſons, from Sedan to the frontiers of Swiſſerland, as alſo for thoſe of Rouſſillon and Guienne, without ſpeaking of Flanders and the coaſt.

We reckon about twenty thouſand men placed from St. Valery to Bergue, ſo that we have all the reaſon to believe, that there cannot be ten thouſand men more from St. Valery to Bourdeaux *.

* Proceedings of a general Court-Martial on general Mordaunt, p. 26.

ARMY *of* RUSSIA.

Houſhold of the empreſs	16,408

This body of troops being entirely deſigned for the ſovereign's guard, never take the field. Theſe ſeveral regiments are always in garriſon near the monarch's reſidence, to be entirely at his diſpoſal on all occaſions.

RUSSIAN FIELD INFANTRY.

The Ruſſian infantry conſiſts of forty-ſix regiments, each regiment contains three battalions, and each battalion twelve companies of fuzileers and two of grenadiers. The number of grenadiers and fuzileers is two thouſand one hundred and twenty-eight; and the whole regiment, including officers, &c. conſiſts of two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven men, the whole one hundred and twenty-one thouſand three hundred and two.

Each regiment has four three-pounders along with it, and four ſmall mortars charged with grenades.

RUSSIAN FIELD CAVALRY.

Four reg. of horſe grenadiers, of 2489 men,	9956
Four reg. of cuiraſſiers, of 1350 men,	5400
Twenty-ſix reg. of dragoons, of 1350 men,	35100
Six reg. of huſſars	12860
Total	63316

FORTIFICATION *and* ARTILLERY.

Fortification	750
Miners	210
Artillery and bombardiers	10000
Total	10960

RUSSIAN INFANTRY *of* GOVERNMENT, *which never takes the Field.*

Twenty reg. of 1344 men, in the countries conquered from Sweden	26880
Thirty-two reg. diſtributed in the ſeveral parts of Ruſſia and Siberia, &c. they all, except four, conſiſt of 1328 men: three of the four are of 664 men, and one of 1992	41168
Twenty regiments, of 1077, diſtributed in the Ukraine	21540
One reg. on the lines of the Ukraine	1248
Total	90836

DRAGOONS.

Four reg. of 1056	4224
Three reg. of 1220	3660
One ſquad. at Moſcow	546
Total	8430

RECAPITULATION.

Houſehold	16408
Field infantry	121302
Field cavalry	63316
Artillery, &c.	10960
Infantry which never takes the field	90836
Dragoons	8430
Total.	311252

In this number are included all the mechanics employed in the regiments, farriers, locksmiths, carpenters, &c. the bat-men, the ſervants of the artillery and the ſervants of all the officers in the army. There is a great number of theſe: they are made ſoldiers, after they have ſerved a certain time. All the ſoldiers employed to guard the priſoners and criminals, are likewiſe included: but I have not reckoned the irregular troops, theſe are compoſed of Coſſacks, Za-

Zaporovians, Calmucs, and Walacs, which are of uſe only in war-time. They have no pay, but live upon plunder. Theſe troops are not formidable of themſelves, being generally ill mounted, and having no kind of diſcipline; but they are very terrible on account of the robberies they commit: they plunder and ravage all the countries through which they paſs, and practiſe the moſt ſhocking cruelties. They are of but little uſe to the Ruſſians in defending their camps, and are often very fatal to their army, by the conſumption of proviſions and forage. They have always a number of horſes with them to carry off the booty. In the ſtates I have ſeen of the army of Ruſſia, this body of troops amounts to thirty or forty thouſand men, ſometimes more; if theſe are added to the military eſtabliſhment, the number of troops in Ruſſia will amount to about three hundered and ſixty thouſand men, including twenty thouſand in the navy.

It appeared to me at firſt incredible, that there ſhould be ſuch a number of troops in a kingdom ſo much depopulated, and whoſe revenues are ſo moderate. M. de Voltaire finds the number nearly the ſame in 1725. But how the Ruſſians can contrive to maintain ſuch a conſiderable body of troops; whether it is neceſſary to the ſovereign of this empire; or whether he ſhould not rather leſſen the military eſtabliſhment, conſidering how much the empire is depopulated; and if the ſovereign is obliged to maintain ſuch a body of troops in time of peace, whether this can be admitted as a real proof of his power?

The troops of government are very ill ſubſiſted, their pay not being more than about half of what the field troops receive. The ſoldiers have not quite one halfpenny Engliſh per day; but they receive every month, as well as the field troops, two buſhels of flour, and one buſhel of oatmeal per man. This body of troops, conſiſting of near one hundred

thouſand men, does not ſtand the kingdom of Ruſſia in more than one million one hundred and ſixty thouſand roubles; becauſe the people are obliged to furniſh them with proviſions for ſubſiſtence in kind. The field troops are ſtationed in garriſons, in the moſt fertile provinces. By this management the eſtabliſhment of the ſea and land forces, though conſiſting of three hundred and thirty thouſand men, does not coſt more than about ſix millions, four hundred thouſand roubles.

The Ruſſian field ſoldier has not more than 1l. 7s. 4d. Engliſh per ann, or not quite one penny per day; but there are beſides, two buſhels of flour and one of oatmeal given to him every month, but the ſovereign has nothing to do with this expence; theſe proviſions are furniſhed in kind by the ſubject, chiefly by ſuch as are exempt from the poll-tax. The ſovereign pays moreover for the ſoldier's coat, and for all that is neceſſary to complete him from head to foot; this expence amounts to about 12 roubles: the total expence of a regiment amounts to thirty-nine thouſand three hundred and ſeventeen roubles.

Expence of the field troops.

	Men.	Roubles.
Houſhold troops	16,380	251,682
Infantry	121,302	1,887,216
Cavalry	63,316	1,677,880
Artillery, &c.	10,960	300,000
Total	211,958	4,116,778
The army of government	99,266	1,161,155
Field army	211,958	4,116,778
Total of the land army	311,224	5,277,933

Although the ſtanding forces of Ruſſia amount to three hundred and thirty thouſand men, including

ding army and navy, yet this power cannot bring into the field more than ſeventy or fourſcore thouſand regular troops at once, and I have been acquainted with ſeveral officers, who were perſuaded that there could never be more than ſixty thouſand effective fighting men in the Ruſſian army. In the laſt war the forces of Ruſſia, both by ſea aud land, appeared to the higheſt advantage, all the troops that could be gathered together were brought from the inner parts of the empire, in order to ſend a large army into Germany. But upon examining the ſeveral campaigns of the Ruſſians, from the year 1757, to 1761, we find that their armies conſiſted of no more than one hundred thouſand men including the irregulars, the workmen, the ſervants, and all other perſons employed: theſe laſt amount to upwards of fifteen thouſand men, and the number of irregulars was ſtill greater; ſo that the regular troops could not amount to more than ſixty thouſand men, and were often fewer.

The officers in general are little acquainted with the art of war. They have ſcarce any idea of tactics. All the tactic of the Ruſſians conſiſts in forming their army in a creſcent, in ſquare, en potence, and ſometimes in form of a triangle; and they ſeldom take the advantages of ground, becauſe, for the moſt part, they are unacquainted with them. Although moſt of their field troops are perfectly well diſciplined, they know not how to put their army in a proper order of march. They place the baggage, which is in great quantity, between the firſt and ſecond line, ſometimes promiſcuouſly. Part of the army is employed in conducting the carriages, to which moſt of the ſoldiers faſten their arms, and the march of a Ruſſian army is ſo diſorderly, that it rather reſembles the emigration of a people from one nation to another. The Ruſſians are little acquainted with the cuſtom of ſending detachments forwards, or with the uſe of ſpies; their irregulars which are

are deſigned to protect them during a march, to clear the ſuſpicious places, and to ſerve as ſcouts, are leſs attentive to theſe ſeveral circumſtances, than to ravage and plunder the places through which they paſs; and indeed Marſhal Appraxin was ſurprized in his march in 1767. General Fermor encamped near Kuſtrin, in 1756, had not a ſufficient notice of the king of Pruſſia's arrival, to prevent him croſſing the Oder. Soltikoff marching into Sileſia, in 1759, was alſo ſurprized, and the moſt advanced regiments of his army were attacked on the place marked out for their encampment, the general being at that time a hunting. It is perhaps for this reaſon that the Ruſſians, though near Sileſia, fell back every year into winter-quarters upon the Viſtula, at the diſtance of more than eighty leagues from the king of Pruſſia's army.

The officers have not the leaſt knowledge either of forming of magazines or of the diſtribution of proviſions. Flour and oatmeal are given to the ſoldiers, and one carriage for twelve men; and it is left to them to ſettle their ovens, and make their own bread. It often happens that through fatigue or neglect, the ſoldiers are very ill fed. To theſe ſeveral circumſtances is owing the ſlowneſs of the military operations of their armies, which are formed into enormous bodies not eaſily put in motion.

The artillery of the Ruſſians is very well ſerved, and is always very numerous. The cavalry is chiefly compoſed of dragoons and huſſars, as they have but ſix regiments of cuiraſſiers. This cavalry is too light to ſuſtain the charge of common horſe; which, by its weight alone, will always be ſufficient to beat down the Ruſſian cavalry. Their horſes, which are taken from their own country, are ſtrong and hardy; they are extremely fleet, but ſo ſmall that they ſink under the weight of their riders. After a few months campaign, a great part of the cavalry is diſmounted. Every body allows that the

the Ruſſian cavalry is the worſt in Europe; but the ſame cannot be ſaid of the infantry. One hundred years ago it was ſaid, that the infantry fought well, provided they had ditches or palliſades before them, that they might await for the enemy under cover; but that they fled in a very cowardly way, if they ſaw no place of defence. It is remarkable, that all theſe facts are to this day ſtrictly true, although theſe troops are better diſciplined. If the Ruſſians ſee an eaſy retreat open to them, they think of nothing but running away; but if they are ſhut up, and obliged to defend their lives, they become formidable troops. A Ruſſian never fights for honour, but for life *.

ARMY *of* AUSTRIA †.

	Men.
Infantry in the field	146,273
Ditto in garriſon	27,680
Horſe	26,500
Dragoons	25,000
Huſſars	30,000
Hunters	750
Free troops	7,640
Artillery	4,600
Total	268,443

ARMY *of* SPAIN.

Spaniſh Infantry	46,875
Italian	2,120
Walloons	3,180
Iriſh	3,180
Swiſs	4,440
Militia	23,100

* D'Auteroche's Journey to Siberia, P. 380.

† In the time of the late war. The account contains the heads of a complete manuſcript liſt, which was never before publiſhed.

Inva-

Invalids	4,800
Horſe	6,114
Dragoons	2,560
Independant companies	2,005
Total	98,375

ANNUAL EXPENCE.

	l.	s.	d.
Horſe guards 480 men	26,535	13	6
Spaniſh foot guards 5856 men	99,528	6	0
Walloon guards 5856 men	97,939	6	0
20 Regiments cavalry	220,349	0	0
10 Ditto dragoons	116,354	10	0
1 Ditto carbineers	39,563	18	0
3 Ditto Swiſs	66,240	0	0
Artillery	35,736	0	0
4 Regiments invalids	12,670	10	0
Infantry	89,228	17	4
Ditto	231,342	18	9
Total expences of the land army in 1760, excluſive of 23,000 militia *.	1,035,488	19	7

ARMY *of* ENGLAND.

Liſt of the land and ſea forces in 1762, *the laſt of the late war.*

	Men.
4 Troops of horſe and grenadiers guards	715
5 Regiments of horſe	1556
3 Ditto of dragoon guards	1540
21 Ditto of dragoons	9764
3 Ditto foot guards	6645
126 Ditto foot	124021
1 Ditto artillery	3103
1 Ditto Iriſh ditto	456
33 Ditto of militia	22972

* Clarke's Letters concerning the Spaniſh Nation.

Engi-

Engineers	60
135 Companies of marines	18335
33 Independant companies	3334
23 Companies of Invalids	1219
7 Royal dock regiments	5000
Provin. militia & indep. comp. in N. America	20000
National land troops	227699
Hanoverians, &c.	57762
Total army	285461
Sailors in the royal navy	51645
Total	337106

As to the loſs of men by the war, that of the ſeamen and marines only has been calculated as follows:

The number of ſailors and marines employed this war were		184893
Killed in engagements and by accidents	1512	184893
Dead of diſeaſes and miſſing	133708	
Sailors now remaining, part of whom are diſcharged	49673	

The widows left, ſuppoſing only a fourth of the men married, muſt be about thirty-three thouſand eight hundred and five; and if each married man left only one child, the number of orphans muſt be ſixty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ten*.

The effects of an armament ſo immenſe were very conſpicuous during the late war, and really aſtoniſhed Europe; they thought the predictions of M. Beaumelle become verified: "England ſays he, will riſe to a higher pitch of power than that of France under Lewis XIV. without any concerted deſign. The frame of its conſtitution will carry it thither, and the indolence of other nations will fa-

* Annual Regiſter, 1763, p. 50.

vour

vour it. She muſt become miſtreſs of Europe, without having formed the project of being ſo; aſtoniſhed at the extent of her own power, ſhe will be convinced of it only by the apprehenſions of all her neighbours, by their ſubmiſſion to her imperious oracles, and by their impotent leagues.

"The blindneſs of ſome ſtates is beyond conception. They take umbrage at the ambitious pretenſions of an empire, which muſt be exhauſted of men and money for the conqueſt of a province; and they are not alarmed at the progreſs of a people, who every ten years acquire, without any ſtruggle, the revenues of a rich province. Is not he alone the true monarch of the world who carries on its trade* ?"

France, who under Lewis IV. kept four hundred and fifty thouſand men in pay, and oppoſed with ſucceſs half Europe, was enabled to do it by being the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing ſtate in Europe. England, in the preſent age, enjoys her power by the ſame tenure. It is not the extent of a country, or the number of its people, that creates ſo great a power; for if either of thoſe circumſtances was now taken as a rule, France, during the late war, ought to be more powerful than England by two to one, notwithſtanding her decline: but nothing could be clearer than the very contrary poſition.

This prodigious force England was enabled to put in motion, and keep employed, by means of her credit: how far that may be carried, is a problem we ſhall not pretend to ſolve. See PUBLIC CREDIT.

It it very obſervable, that keeping two hundred and ſixty thouſand men in pay, levied and recruited in Great Britain, and Ireland alone, operated no ill effects on population; hands in all the branches of induſtry were not at all wanting; the nation could

* Mes Penſes, p. 86.

for

for many years, or indeed for ever, have ſupplied the men, provided the money could have been found. This was a phenomenon in the article of population not underſtood before.

Preſent Army of BRITAIN, *and its Station*, 1772.

In ENGLAND.

	Men.
Two troops of horſe-guards	362
Two ditto horſe-grenadiers	353
One regiment of horſe-guards	319
Three regiments of dragoon-guards	807
Nine reg. of dragoons, at 231 men each	2079
Three regiments of foot-guards	3765
Eight regiments of foot, at 300 men each	2400
Twenty companies of invalids	2460
Total	12,545

In SCOTLAND.

One regiment of dragoons	231
Six regiments of foot	1800
Total	2031

In IRELAND.

Four regiments of horſe	856
Eight regiments dragoons, at 231 each	1848
Twenty-three reg. of foot, at 300 men each	6900
Total	9604

In NORTH AMERICA.

Thirteen regiments of foot, at 300 men each	3900

In the WEST INDIES.

Five regiments of foot	1500

GIBRALTAR,

GIBRALTAR.

Eight regiments of foot	2400

MINORCA.

Seven regiments of foot	2100

COAST *of* AFRICA.

Six African corps	60

RECAPITULATION.

England	12,545
Scotland	2,031
Ireland	9,604
North America	3,900
Weſt Indies	1,500
Gibraltar	2,400
Minorca	2,100
Africa	600
Total	34,680

Beſides the militia.

That the reader may have the ſatisfaction of comparing the ſtate and ſtation of the army in the preſent peace with that of the peace ſucceeding the war of 1741, we ſhall add the liſt for the year 1752.

In GREAT BRITAIN.

Guards	5606
Dragoons eleven regiments	2541
Foot twelve regiments	3600
Total	11747

IRELAND.

IRELAND.

Four regiments of horſe	856
Six ditto of dragoons	1386
Twenty-four regiments of horſe	7200
Total	9442

GIBRALTAR.

Four regiments of foot	1200

MINORCA.

Four regiments of foot	1200

NOVA SCOTIA.

Three regiments of foot	900

WEST INDIES.

Two regiments of foot	600

RECAPITULATION.

	1752	1771
Great Britain	11747	14576
Ireland	9442	9604
North America	900	3900
Weſt Indies	600	1500
Gibraltar	1200	2400
Minorca	1200	2100
Africa		600
Total	25,089	34680

And, beſides this ſuperiority, there is the militia, ſo that Britain is much better guarded in the preſent peace than ſhe was in the preceding one. Her naval ſtrength is alſo ſuperior. See NAVY.

Some

Some politicians may harrangue as much as they pleaſe on the evils of a ſtanding army; but it is abſolutely neceſſary, while we have ſuch inveterate enemies to be prepared to meet them. Our ill-ſucceſs at the beginning of the two laſt wars, was, in a great meaſure, owing to a want of force at their opening, our military eſtabliſhment being ſo much lower, we were ſtruck with a panic at the idea of an invaſion, troops took time to raiſe, and yet more to diſcipline; whereas the French and Spaniards always being prepared for war by land, begin it with a great ſuperiority. In this reſpect our militia has been, and will again be of excellent uſe, particularly if it was raiſed in all the counties, the omiſſion of which is a moſt abſurd tenderneſs in our laws, to leave an object of ſuch general importance in the breaſt of lord-lieutenants to reject; it is a ſcandal to the legiſlature of the kingdom.

ARBITRARY POWER, in general, is the idol of kings, and the curſe of mankind. If monarchs would, as they ought, conſider the good of their ſubjects as their own, they would then find that a limited monarchy has advantages which an arbitrary one can never poſſeſs. Let us, for a moment, compare the kings of France and Great Britain, in every reſpect that can affect their power, grandeur, eaſe, ſecurity, and happineſs.

Firſt, in reſpect of power, the king of France, by means of his abſolute authority, can avail himſelf of every hand, and every ſhilling in his kingdom. This, at the firſt appearance, carries an idea of great ſtrength, but, upon a nearer inſpection, it is found deceitful: human nature is ſuch, that whatever ſingle man has ſuch a prerogative, he will be ſure to make uſe of it, and ſtrain his power to the utmoſt, in order to get the better of, or be triumphant over his neighbours. We have ſeen the effect of this rage in three monarchs, Charles V. Philip II. and Lewis XIV.

XIV. all three monarchs who lived in modern times, their reigns well underſtood, and their arms the ſame, viz. univerſal monarchy all three, but particularly the two laſt found that deſpotiſm which created their formidableneſs, the certain ruin of it. Lewis XIV. by means of his abſolute authority, raiſed and maintained much more numerous armies than he could have done, had his authority been limited: for what were they raiſed? Only to be deſtroyed, to ruin France, even by victories and conqueſts; and to entail years of miſery, and even weakneſs, upon himſelf and kingdom. If any writer quotes his power, let him take the laſt ten years of his reign, as well as any other ten years; and let him not forget the ſtate of that kingdom at his death: if a due eſtimate is made, his power will upon the whole be found much leſs than it appears; for the mere raiſing and fighting of armies, if certain ruin and debilitation are to be the conſequence, cannot ſurely be called power.

This period was the zenith of the French proſperity; if that proved ſo clearly the folly and madneſs of ſuch ambitious views, what muſt her decline be? Of late years the court has entertained the ſame lofty ideas, and acted upon the ſame ambitious plans, but without an equal degree of their former power, ſo that France, after having been for an age the terror of her neighbours, threatens to become as harmleſs a being as Spain for near two centuries after the death of Philip II. Here we have taken a view of the power of France in the height of her proſperity, when ſhe contained twenty millions of inhabitants, and alſo in her decline, when her numbers are reduced to fourteen millions.

Great Britain and Ireland, upon the largeſt calculations, never contained above ten millions of people, or probably not ſo many; and the numbers is ſuppoſed by ſome to have continued pretty equal

from the Revolution to the preſent time. Now if we call the preſent age, as it certainly is, that of England, it is fair to compare it with France in the laſt. Lewis XIV. ought to have had twice the power of George II. but nothing was ſo far from truth. England, in the laſt war, maintained three hundred and forty thouſand men; Lewis, in his greateſt exertions, not more than four hundred thouſand, though ſome French inſcriptions ſpeak of four hundred and fifty thouſand; but he ought to have had ſeven hundred and eighty thouſand ſtrong to have equalled the proportioned power of Britain: but this is the leaſt part of it. The exertions of France, like violent ſtrains of the human body, brought on miſery and immediate weakneſs; whereas with England no ſuch event has happened. Never was a more proſperous period in her hiſtory than the years which have eſcaped ſince the war; which proves, in the cleareſt manner, that the power of one was the reſult of natural ſtrength and well knit limbs, never forced beyond their capacity: the other the effects of violence and artificial efforts. If it ſaid, that Britain has involved herſelf in debt; I reply, ſo did Lewis XIV. but to a much greater degree, ſince the amount of his debts at his death have been calculated at three hundred millions ſterling.

Thus much for the power of France in the zenith of her proſperity: if we turn to the preſent age, we ſhall find her with fourteen millions of people, and a territory much larger than in the laſt century; but with the ſingle power of England exerted againſt her, and even with the aſſiſtance of Spain in ſome degree of vigour, we ſaw how little able ſhe was to make any figure, or even to defend herſelf. One enemy reduced that power to the loweſt degree of miſery, which not a century before had reſiſted more than half Europe.

The

The fact is, that the ſame arbitrary power which enabled her to be the plague of all her neighbours, hurried her into ſo many exceſſes, and ſuch raſh and violent exertions of her force, as to deſtroy itſelf in a period amazingly ſhort; and conſequently we may with juſtice deduce this truth, that arbitrary authority is deſtructive of a nation's power; and that George III. of England, the two kingdoms conſidered, is a more powerful ſovereign than was Lewis XIV.

In reſpect of grandeur, magnificence, &c. there has been a greater ſhew of it in France than in England; but this has been rather owing to the private taſte of the ſovereigns than any want of it in thoſe of England. It has never been doubted, but that any Engliſh monarch, who manifeſted an inclination of erecting magnificent and ſumptuous edifices, would find his parliament as ready to vote the neceſſary ſums as thoſe for any other publick uſe: there is never any difficulty in paying the debts of the civil liſt, when they have not appeared to be contracted for ſuch beneficial purpoſes. But an arbitrary monarch can no more indulge in boundleſs expences of this ſort than a limited one: Lewis XIV impoveriſhed himſelf and his kingdom by ſuch extravagance, until at laſt, while overwhelmed with debts which he could not pay, he was driven to the miſerable ſhift of melting all his plate, and deſtroying the very furniture of his palaces that would yield any ſilver.

Laſtly, in reſpect of eaſe, ſecurity and happineſs, the very naming ſuch circumſtances is ſufficient to decide the compariſon in favour of the limited monarch. Abſolute authority is ever founded on the wreck of the rights of mankind; ſuch an authority has force only for its ſupport: great armies muſt be kept up as well to awe the ſubject, as to make the ſtate formible; in ſuch a ſituation inſecurity, and a great meaſure of anxiety, muſt ever be the attendants; whereas all theſe things are different with the limited mo-

narch; as his power depends on the laws, it has them for its protection and ſupport, and the ſubject feels as much ſatisfaction in obedience to legal authority, as the monarch can be deſirous of exacting it.

Upon the whole, no man to whom education in a private ſtation (or even in a palace if not contaminated by flatterers) had given a philoſophical diſpoſition, would be deſirous, if he became a king, of arbitrary power: reflection on all the examples which hiſtory can produce, would make him wiſh to govern by laws, and to owe his authority as much to their force, as the ſubject could his liberty.

ASSIENTO. The old French Guinea company, after having made a treaty with the Spaniſh miniſters, for the importation of negroes into the Spaniſh colonies, took the name of the company of the Aſſientiſts. The treaty was ſigned in 1702, to continue in force ten years: the number of negroes was fixed at thirty-eight thouſand.

By the treaty of Utrecht, France gave up to England the Aſſiento contract, to begin in 1713, and to continue in force thirty years. The Engliſh South-Sea Company undertook the ſupply; they were obliged to import four thouſand eight hundred negroes a year. By this treaty leave was alſo given for the Aſſientiſts to ſend yearly into Spaniſh America, during the whole time of the treaty, a ſhip of five hundred tons, laden with the ſame ſorts of merchandize, which the Spaniards uſed to carry thither, with liberty to diſpoſe of them with the concurrence of the Spaniards at the fairs of Porto Bello and Vera Cruz. One may ſafely aſſert, that neither the furniſhing the Spaniards with negroes, which is the main ſubject of that treaty, nor the ſeveral other articles by which ſeveral privileges were granted to the South Sea company, did not altogether prove ſo profitable to it as that liberty alone granted to the Engliſh, againſt the ancient policy and the uſual jealouſy of the Spaniards

niards with regard to their American trade. The French made ſo much by their Aſſiento, that they were enabled by a computation made from the regiſters in Spain, to import into the French dominions no leſs than two hundred and four millions of pieces of eight: yet they at length over-glutted the market, and became ſufferers towards the concluſion thereof. Upon the Aſſiento's falling into Engliſh hands, we have not been able to make any great advantage by it, on account of the unſettled affairs of Europe for many years paſt, and our miſunderſtanding with the court of Spain, during the long Walpolian adminiſtration *.

AUSTRIA (Houſe of) long conſidered in Europe as the great rival of the houſe of Bourbon, and ſo it ſucceſsfully proved till the reign of Lewis XIV. under whom the French power was ſo great, and that of Auſtria ſo weak, that it had no rival, but combinations among all her neighbours. By the Bourbon family inheriting Spain and the Indies, with the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, they became beyond compariſon greater than any other family in the ſouth of Europe. The houſe of Auſtria has declined much, and from the unnatural alliance between her and France, which the negociations preceding the laſt war gave riſe to, has brought an entire change in the ſyſtem of Europe; which cannot fail of having bad conſequences, in at leaſt being the occaſion of much confuſion.

The events of the laſt war are in every body's remembrance; but ſince that period, there have been arrangements and negociations which threaten new troubles; theſe are of the utmoſt importance, as they probably will produce a ſyſtem different from any that has hitherto appeared.

The power of the houſe of Auſtria is in the hands

* Poſtlethwayte, Vol. I. art. Aſſiento.

of the Empreſs queen, whoſe inveteracy to the king of Pruſſia continues, and will probably continue as long as her life; this keeps her true to her connection with France: but the emperor, who will inherit all her dominions, is ſuppoſed to have adopted other ideas. Certainly the long and perſonal negociation between this monarch and the king of Pruſſia, was no meeting of form or pleaſure, but a compromiſe of intereſts and purſuits, which have been kept inviolably ſecret: if, as it was natural at firſt to ſuppoſe, that this meeting was to concert meaſures for ſettling Poland, a ſecond reflection would have told one, that for ſo plain and ſimple a negociation as that muſt be, an ambaſſador would have performed the part as well as the ſovereigns themſelves. It is highly improbable, that they ſhould be many days ſettling their ideas on this point. Since the event the moſt ſagacious politicians have conjectured, what is very probable from the known ſpirit and opinion of the emperor, that a treaty took place between him and the king, for an attack upon France, in order to regain from that power, the provinces which ſhe has wreſted from the houſe of Auſtria, viz. Alſace, Flanders, Luxemburg, &c. What part the king of Pruſſia is to take in it, or whether he is only to be induced to be quiet, by a ſtrong guarantee of Sileſia, is not to be conjectured; but it is probable, that the Emperor has laid the plan of an alliance againſt France, himſelf to be at the head of it, and will take the neceſſary meaſures, while the Empreſs Queen lives, to ſtrengthen it in the beſt manner he is able; and upon the death of that princeſs the effects of it will be ſeen.

The idea has nothing of improbability in it; it is not at all ſurpriſing, that an active young monarch of great abilities, at the head of a much more powerful force than that of Auſtria poſſeſſed, when oppoſing Lewis XIV. and the Turks, ſhould meditate the recovery

covery of rights which were torn from his anceſtors by mere ſtrength. Nor is it at all improbable that he ſhould be able to effect it; France, by the moſt abſurd conduct that ever inſtigated the exertion of any nation's power, has reduced herſelf to a degree of weakneſs, much greater than is conceived in general, but which will manifeſt itſelf more and more in every future war. Let it be remembered that Spain was dreaded in Europe long after the departure of her power, and while ſhe was but the ſhadow of her former name: her dominions remained immenſe, Holland excepted, as great as ever; the Indies were in her poſſeſſion, and her troops were acknowledged to be the beſt in Europe, inſomuch that none could be compared with the Spaniſh infantry, till the battle of Rocroi. Now with France the caſe is almoſt ſimilar; we have the ſhadow of a mighty name, dominions larger than ever, numerous troops, but by no means better than thoſe of her neighbours: ſhe makes the ſame appearance as when acknowledged the dread of all Europe; but like Spain ſhe poſſeſſes only a ſhadow; violent exertions have waſted the ſtamina of her ſtrength, and ſhe will be found in all future diſputes to be poſſeſſed of leſs and leſs ſtrength. In the war of 1741, ſhe was no longer the power that had reſiſted half Europe, even with the alliance of Spain and Pruſſia. In that of 1756 ſhe ſunk greatly, and in the next it muſt be a ſtrange concatenation of lucky circumſtances that can ſupport her with any figure in it.

In caſe of the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon being once more in oppoſition, the king of Sardinia will find himſelf of immenſe conſequence; nor can it be ſaid which party he will join; but good politics would inſtigate him to unite with the weakeſt party, which will probably be France: he can hope to make no acquiſitions from her, but has pretenſions on a part of the Auſtrian dominions. However, in caſe of a war, he would certainly be forced to take part with one or the other.

The king of Pruſſia might very eaſily be induced to take an active ſhare in the war, if an acquiſition of importance was to be the conſequence. A Pruſſian army marched to the frontiers of Holland, while an Auſtrian one was encamped in Flanders, and another on the march to Alſace, would force that republic to come into the alliance. Spain would force England to take the ſame ſide, and the houſe of Bourbon would be attacked with a vigour that would threaten the foundations of her empire. This war there is great reaſon to think is at no great diſtance, ſince the life of the empreſs queen cannot be of long duration.

It is not eaſy to point out whence the reſources of France ſhould come from. Turkey and Ruſſia are both exhauſted by a long and conſuming war; if they were at peace they would have no ſtomach for a freſh war, which could yield them nothing: Turkey would be utterly unable, and Ruſſia would have buſineſs enough in ſettling Poland. Sweden, by engaging, would only enſure the certain loſs of her German territory, and be driven back the moment ſhe appeared. Denmark is too weak to attempt any operations in which Pruſſia would meet her. In a word, it would to France have the appearance of a deſperate caſe.

B.

BAHAMA Iſlands. A large ſtring of iſlands lying between 21 and 28 degrees north latitude, and 72 and 81 weſt longitude, all of them entirely belonging to Great Britain.

The iſland of Bahama, from which the reſt take the name, is in latitude 26, and from 15 to 20 leagues from Florida. It is reckoned about 13 leagues long

long and 8 broad, is eſteemed extremely pleaſant and fruitful, the air ſerene and temperate, and the ſoil remarkably rich, being watered with a multitude of ſprings and brooks; formerly it produced plenty of guaiacum, ſaſſafras, ſarſaparilla, and red wood, which were all deſtroyed by the Spaniards; ſo that its chief productions at preſent are Indian wheat, fowl, and a particular ſort of rabbit: the reſt of their proviſions, and other neceſſaries, they are obliged to have from Carolina, whence they are enabled both here and in the iſland of Providence, to aſſiſt the ſhipping that are driven upon their coaſts by the tempeſtuous weather, and impetuoſity of currents, with what they want, which is the greateſt branch of their trade.

The iſle of Providence is the reſidence of the governor, and lies in the center of ſome hundreds of others. Several authors reckon them between four and five hundred, ſome of which are very large, even one hundred and ſixty miles in length, and others no bigger than knolls or rocks riſing above water. This lies in latitude 24, and is about 28 miles long and 11 broad, where it is wideſt. It produces little elſe but ſalt and Braziletto wood, which they carry to Carolina in about eight days, but are ten at leaſt in returning from thence. It abounds with variety of fiſh, fowl, trees, and vegetables. The iſland of Eluthera was ſettled likewiſe, upon which about ſixty families fixed themſelves, erected a ſmall fort for their defence, and raiſed a company of militia. The like was done in Harbour-iſland, where the plantation ſoon grew more conſiderable, and a larger fort was built for the protection of the inhabitants. This happened in 1736, from which time theſe iſlands have been improving, though ſlowly *.

* Harris's Voyages, Vol. 2. p. 286.

From

From theſe accounts it appears, that we have ſettlements in four iſlands (Providence, Bahama, Eluthera, and Harbour) out of five hundred; and have not choſen the beſt or the largeſt. If it is conſidered that they all lie between 21 and 28 north latitude, and that many of them are of conſiderable ſize, and from the broken accounts we have had, compoſed of a moſt rich and fertile ſoil, this muſt appear truly aſtoniſhing. Land in our ſugar colonies ſells up to an hundred pounds an acre, and from twenty to forty pounds not an uncommon price, conſidering that they are iſlands, and conſequently entirely exempt from the froſts which are felt in Florida, there can be no doubt but they would produce ſugar; but cotton and indigo they would be excellent for, and numerous other productions, which would prove extremely valuable in commerce. Many of them are in the ſame latitude with Cuba, and at leaſt three degrees ſouth of the capes of Florida, the climate of theſe muſt certainly be hot enough for ſugar. But has it been tried? Is it not worthy of trial?

Meaſures ought certainly to be taken to know with certainty what uſes theſe iſlands could be put to: for this purpoſe the only national plan would be to have them all accurately ſurveyed, and laid down in a large chart with the ſtraits between them, and the ſoundings, the depth of water on the coaſts and harbours: the ſpontaneous productions of them, and the ſoil minutely examined; and the perſons employed in gaining a knowledge of theſe particulars ſhould keep an exact regiſter of the weather. We ſhould then be able to decide what articles of cultivation would anſwer beſt; which of them were beſt worth planting; and which of them ſhould be left in their preſent ſtate. In all probability we ſhould find many of them much more worthy of attention, and far better deſerving the expence of fortifying and planting than the frozen regions of the North, about which

which we have laviſhed ſuch immenſe ſums of money.

BALANCE of TRADE, to a manufacturing nation, is very clearly of great importance. To know the progreſs of trade from time to time, and to be able to diſcover pretty accurately the balance, becauſe, whatever is paid to other countries in bullion, as a balance upon the year's trade, is juſt ſo much loſs to any nation that has unemployed poor, or unpurchaſed commodities. As to the ill conſequences of ſending away our gold and ſilver, conſidered merely in itſelf, they are perhaps trivial*, and ſhould be conſidered in no other light, than a proof that we do not export a due quantity of products and labour. By knowing the balance of each trade, we are timely acquainted with thoſe articles, in which the induſtry of foreigners rival us, and are, conſequently, much better enabled to apply the neceſſary remedy than if the evil was unknown to us, or only conjectured. This remark is allowed by all to be juſt; but the great difficulty and difference of opinion ariſes from the means of diſcovering the balance.

Thoſe which have been chiefly depended on by ſome, but rejected by others, are,

The cuſtom-houſe entries.

The courſe of exchange.

The quantity of gold and ſilver abounding.

The quantity of foreign coin; and,

The quantity of ſhipping.

In the firſt place, the cuſtom-houſe entries can give but little inſight into the real ſtate of the balance; for the quantity of goods that are ſmuggled is prodigious, and of them the cuſtom-houſe can give no account. Falſe entries † are common, the rates are various, and many articles are not rated at all. For theſe, and other reaſons, it is apparent, their autho-

* See Hume's Eſſays, Vol. I. p. 341.

† Gee's Trade and Navigation, p. 171.

rity

rity is weak, and accordingly has been rejected by numerous writers *.

The courſe of exchange is agreed to be of uſe, like all means whatever, of acquiring knowledge; but that it will point out the general balance of our whole trade, or the particular ones of ſeveral, is clearly contrary to truth. That it will not ſhew the general balance appears from this, all remittances affect the courſe of exchange, whether they be ſubſidies to foreign princes, the pay and maintenance of troops, the intereſt of debts, or the expences of travellers; all theſe articles are conſiderable, and ſufficiently prove that general knowledge is not to be thus acquired: and if it be conſidered, that the balances to and from nation to nation are often transferred to others; that is, the balance we owe to one country is paid by bills of exchange upon another, who owes a balance to us, in which caſe the courſe of exchange varies indeed, but in quite a different quarter from the tranſactions of trade which occaſioned that variation: from hence, I ſay, it is evident, the courſe of exchange can tell nothing but the temporal balance of remittance, and not that of trade.

The quantity of gold and ſilver abounding in a country, can be no more the ſigns to depend on than the preceding ones. Gee fixes on this as the true criterion; but a very few reflections will ſhew that he was totally miſtaken. The intereſt of debts, ſubſidies, foreign wars, and abſentees export gold and ſilver as readily as the worſt of trades; how then can the quantity abounding ſhew us the extent of commerce? But even if none of theſe cauſes operated, the maxim would be equally fallacious; and for this reaſon a people may export their coin without any of theſe helps. The creation of paper

* Gee, ib. Hume's Eſſays, Vol. i. p. 342. Child on Trade, p. 164. Lond. Mag. Vol. xxx. p. 84.

currency

currency indubitably drives it away; for that being current at home, and not abroad, will ſtay at home, and the univerſal currency be ſent abroad. This is generally agreed; but thoſe who favour paper currency allow the fact, yet draw this inference from it, that it goes abroad in trade to collect more, but that more will go off in the ſame way; and allowing the full extent of the argument, yet the quantity at home can never ſhew the profit of trade.

Others aſſert, that the plenty of foreign coin current in any kingdom, is the ſure ſign of any particular trade's (if not the whole) flouriſhing. This plea has a ſtrong appearance of reaſon, but will not always hold good. For inſtance, Portugal owes a large balance to Holland, and pays it in coin; and Holland owes a balance to Britain, and pays it with Portugal coin: how does this ſhew us the balance of our trade with Portugal? No one can aſſert that all the Portugueſe coin current in England comes immediately from Portugal: it is a fact very much to be doubted; the currency of foreign coin ſhews evidently, that ſome balance is greatly in our favour, and if it ceaſes, that ſome trade is turned againſt us. But another circumſtance has a great effect upon the fluctuation of all coin, and that is the intrinſic value of it; for we certainly may have vaſt payments in it, and yet not an ounce of it current: this is very apparent.

Sir Joſiah Child was certainly, in matters of commerce, a very penetrating genius; and yet in this article of the balance he fixes on a proof as weak as any of the preceding. The quantity of ſhipping is his criterion: but ſurely it is apparent, that much ſhipping may be employed in loſing trades, and very profitable ones carried on without any ſhipping at all; it would therefore be very ſtrange if ſhipping proved the balance. Great numbers of ſhips may be employed to carry out coin in return for

for bulky commodities; ſhould we conclude, therefore, that in proportion to the quantity the national trade thrives? No ſure. But let us drop the idea of naval power for a minute, as we are ſpeaking merely of trade, and ſuppoſe that the nation had no ſhipping at all, would this make foreigners the leſs willing to purchaſe our lead, our corn, our tin, or manufactures? On the contrary, would they not be more eager to do it on account of the freight? Should we be obliged to purchaſe any larger quantity of their manufactures than was agreeable to us? And might not the balance be infinitely in our favour nevertheleſs? Experience can anſwer all theſe queries. This was the caſe with France before Colbert aroſe. Several French writers have attempted to prove, that ſhe received of her neighbours a greater proportional balance while the Dutch had the navigation of all her products for ſale, than ſhe did in her more brilliant days. All agree, that her commerce of this ſort was immenſely great: ſhipping, ſeamen, navigation, and naval power are great, and magnificent poſſeſſions; but let them never be brought in competition with the ſale of products and manufactures; for in a ſcale of value, the cargo is ſurely of abundant greater conſequence than the vehicle which conveys it. People that have much ſhipping make a great noiſe in the world, and are every where known and talked of. Thoſe who ſell their products to whoever will come for them, are never ſeen from home, and little thought of; but their profitable balance may exiſt without any of the buſtle which ſhipping occaſions. Was the balance of trade againſt France, in the laſt years of the late war, when her ſhipping was demoliſhed? Is the balance of trade againſt China and Japan, who poſſeſs, comparatively ſpeaking, ſcarcely any ſhips? This idea of ſhipping marking the balance of trade is a mere chimera. No one can have a greater idea

of the conſequence of ſhipping and ſeamen, and particularly to this country, than myſelf; but as to ſuppoſing it the criterion of the balance, or national profit of a trade, it is totally inconſiſtent with common experience, and the leaſt reflection.

It may be aſked, if I am ſo free in rejecting the ſyſtems eſtabliſhed by others, whether I have any to offer in their ſtead? In anſwer to which I ſhall freely offer my conjecture amongſt others, which is, that circumſtanced as Britain is, it is impoſſible to fix on any general maxim as a criterion to judge of the balance of trade. I have reflected on this ſubject with the utmoſt attention I am able, and can deviſe no means of diſcovering whether the balance is for or againſt us: an exact regiſter of all exports and imports, clandeſtine as well as legal, would tell it at once; but ſuch a regiſter is an impoſſibility, according to the preſent ſyſtem of revenue: we have found, that the ſeveral ideas above examined are all fallacious. If we conſider the caſe with a little attention, we ſhall find equal difficulties in forming other ideal balances of the nation's commerce.

The circumſtances which render an attempt of this ſort ſo impracticable, are the ſums ſpent in England by Iriſh and Weſt Indian abſentees (which have nothing to do with the balance of trade); thoſe expended by Engliſh travellers; the intereſt paid by Britain to foreigners for money lodged in her funds; and, laſtly, the expences of continental connections, which are immenſe. All theſe amount to great ſums, and are attended in all national reſpects with the ſame effects, as favourable or unfavourable balances of trade; conſequently the reſult prodigious, if not inſuperable difficulties, in aſcertaining the difference between their effects, and thoſe of commerce. Paper currency finiſhes the liſt. If the former objections were removed, this would involve the whole in obſcurity.

If

If none of theſe cauſes operated, the quantity of coin, bullion, and plate in the kingdom, with exciſes to tell the amount of what was conſumed in laces and embroideries, would be an infallible rule to judge by, which could never deceive, becauſe theſe could then be increaſed by no means, but by a favourable balance, nor decreaſed but by an unfavourable one: but it is evident enough, that this is very far from being the caſe at preſent.

The flouriſhing ſtate of manufactures traced to any particular amount, will not ſhew whether trade is for or againſt us, becauſe the trade of products is independent of them. It is poſſible to have half our manufacturers ſtarving, and yet a greater balance than the preſent ſuppoſed one brought in from the ſale of products alone. *Vice verſa*, the decay of the latter cannot prove it, becauſe the former may flouriſh proportionably.

The ſtate of population cannot prove it, becauſe it is ſo much affected by circumſtances, that have no connection with foreign trade.

The conſumption of great quantities of foreign luxuries cannot prove even a decline, contrary to Sir James Stewart; becauſe at the ſame rime, ſuch conſumption may be more than balanced by an exportation of raw commodities.

The riſe or fall of rents of land cannot poſſibly prove it, becauſe they are affected by the quantity of paper current, by taxes, by a general wrong balance, owing to the above mentioned cauſes, all which may operate againſt land, while the ballance of trade favours it.

The number of unemployed poor cannot prove it, becauſe that is affected by the ſtate of agriculture and manufactures, which are but two foundations of trade out of many; and, by many other cauſes. The number of unemployed poor in France is immenſe, although the balance of trade in favour of that kingdom is very great.

The

The beſt knowledge we can gain is that of the cuſtom-houſe, becauſe in their entries is ſome foundation to calculate upon, whereas in other methods there is none *.

To aſcertain, ſays another author, the fact of a kingdom being proſperous, and a gainer by her dealings with all the world, we muſt take a view of the three great ſupports of every nation, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. If the culture of the earth is in general on the improving hand; if manufactures are not at a ſtand, or few or no artizans ſtarving for want of work; if trade is well upon the whole, theſe are three ſigns of great importance, none of them to be exactly laid down on paper: but while they have ſuch a meaſure of ſucceſs, that a decline can no where be clearly ſeen, they may ſafely be held as ſtrong marks of national health.

If I was to venture to name any remark of a favourable balance ſtronger than all others, I ſhould fix on the GENERAL RISE OF PRICES, not of any poſſeſſion or commodity ſeparately taken, but the aggregate of all. Land, houſes, furniture, manufactures, the works of artizans, labour, proviſions, &c. I think if the circumſtance is conſidered, it will nearly include moſt others. It is affected by the balance of receipts and payments of whatever kind, as that balance regulates the quantity of money; and alſo by the amount of paper credit, which has the ſame conſequence, and is alike the child of real wealth: whatever adds to the national ſtock in wealth, ſinks the value of money, and raiſes prices. All that general eaſe, happineſs, and wealth, diffuſed through a kingdom, which gives it the marks of being flouriſhing and formidable; all theſe are ſtrongly ſhewn in a riſe of prices. Thus nothing can be ſo ridiculous, as the complaints which ignorant

* Political Eſſays, p. 533.

writers have of late years been making, on the dearneſs of every thing; that circumſtance being of all others the moſt ſtriking proof of great proſperity.

On the contrary, take a view of thoſe countries where all commodities are cheap, where land is of little value, labour low, and proviſions to be had for a trifle, ſuch countries are throughout the world in the loweſt predicament of wealth down even to ſuch as are compoſed of mere barbarians.

Upon the ſame principles we may determine the mark of decline in a ſtate to be, when from a general dearneſs all prices ſink, and a country, which was once very expenſive to live in, becomes cheap, from the low price of all commodities: ſuch a fall would to me be the cleareſt proof in the world that a country was ſinking apace; and yet it is the preciſe ſituation which ſo many writers ſo much want to ſee in England: but therein they ſhew their utter ignorance *.

BALANCE of POWER. The balance of power (in the ſtrict ſenſe of that phraſe) was created by trade, and muſt continue to be the object more eſpecially of trading countries, ſo long as they preſerve their commerce and their freedom. It is from a ſenſe of this, that whenever any power attempts to oppreſs another, or betrays a viſible deſign of heightening its own ſtrength, by attacking or conquering its neighbours, other potentates are ready to interpoſe, from a quick ſenſe not only of the inconveniencies that muſt ariſe from the incroachments made by ſuch a power, but from the juſt apprehenſions that this may, and indeed muſt, prove extremely prejudicial to commerce in general, and to that of ſeveral nations in particular; who, to prevent this, will not ſcruple to take up arms, as was the caſe in the two general wars againſt France, as well as in

* Letters on the preſent State of England, p. 147.

this

this laſt. Thus it appears, that the balance of power is not an empty name, or an idle thing, but a very juſt and ſignificant, though a new and figurative expreſſion.

By it we mean the preſerving the ſeveral governments of Europe, as far as may be, in their preſent condition, and the hindering any potentate whatever from acquiring ſuch a degree of grandeur as may be dangerous or fatal to thoſe reciprocal intereſts beforementioned, which as they took riſe from, are abſolutely neceſſary to the continuance of commerce: and any attempt upon which is, conſequently, felt by every nation that has any ſhare of trade, and in the higheſt degree as they have moſt trade, and make the moſt of their trade by the maritime powers. This, when he has attentively conſidered it, the ingenious and judicious reader will allow to be a fair, as well as free account, of a matter of great importance, which, unleſs thoroughly, clearly, and perfectly underſtood, no view of the preſent ſtate of Europe can be exhibited worthy of credit, or capable of anſwering that end which we propoſe.

But notwithſtanding we have ſhewn, without any great difficulty, how the political balance ariſes, it is not quite ſo eaſy to explain wherein it truly conſiſts. For with reſpect to this, it is very certain, that even the ableſt writers find it a very hard thing to diveſt themſelves of their prejudices. As for inſtance, a French politician takes it for granted, that this balance ought to be held by the king his maſter, and never ſo much as ſuſpects that this will or ought to be diſputed. At Vienna again there is nothing more clear than that the right of holding the balance is in the imperial court, and he who ſhould treat this as chimerical, would be thought as deficient in ſenſe as in good manners. The moſt judicious and ſenſible authors that I have met with upon this ſubject are the Italians, and particularly the Veneti-

ans; for do but grant them that the ſea as well as land is ſubject to dominion, and that their republic has an indubitable right to the ſovereignty of the Adriatic, and they will very readily grant you all that can be deſired in favour of other princes and ſtates.

The ſtruggle, therefore, for the balance of power, is, in reality, a ſtruggle for power; and ſuch as, from the different methods of treating this queſtion, preſume to ſhew their ſagacity, by doubting whether there be any ſuch thing at all, rather ſhew their weakneſs: for though it be true that in learned diſputes men often differ merely about words, yet it is otherwiſe in political quarrels, for nations very ſeldom fall out about nothing. The laſt part, therefore, of our taſk is the hardeſt, for it conſiſts in ſhewing, truly, where this balance lies, which requires more penetration and impartiality than we can boaſt; but, however, we will do the beſt we may, and leave the reſt to be ſupplied by the obſervations and reflections of the judicious reader.

In the firſt place, it is the intereſt of all the powers of Europe to ſupport each other's independency, and to prevent any thing that has the appearance of an univerſal monarchy, or the introducing the influence of one court over the greateſt part of the reſt; becauſe this muſt be detrimental to the whole, and prejudicial to the freedom, learning, arts, manufactures, and commerce of Europe in general.

This we learn not only from the principles of true policy, but alſo from the unerring lights of experience; ſince it is impoſſible to aſſign a time when the powers of Europe in general made ſo mean a figure as when the emperor Charles V. or his ſon Philip II. were neareſt the accompliſhment of their ambitious views, and had, in a manner, all the other potentates at their mercy, or at their devotion.

But, beſides the general balance of power, there are three particular balances which ought to be attended

tended to and ſupported; becauſe if any of theſe be weakened or deſtroyed, it will be almoſt impoſſible to preſerve the reſt. The firſt of theſe is the balance of the North, where the power of Ruſſia is chiefly to be apprehended. There is no anſwering for the views of any court, becauſe they are perpetually changing: the only ſecurity that can be had, muſt reſult from the preſcribing proper bounds to all; and, in the preſent caſe, this chiefly depends on the maritime powers, who are always able, and ought to be ever willing, to maintain the equilibrium there which ſubſiſts at preſent. In this they have reaſon to expect, if ſhe is true to her own intereſt, the concurrence of France, to whom an abſolute and overbearing power in the North would be as fatal as to any other ſtate; becauſe ſhe muſt become dependant upon it for her naval ſtores, and find her grandeur, in other reſpects, greatly diminiſhed.

The ſecond balance of power is in Germany, where, for the common peace and ſafety of Europe, it is neceſſary the conſtitution of the empire ſhould be maintained; which, however, cannot be done, if either the imperial dignity be transfered to a houſe more potent than all the reſt, or if any other power be permitted to give laws to the emperor and empire. At preſent the balance of Germany ſeems to depend upon poiſing, properly, the two great houſes of Auſtria and Brandenburgh, and preventing either from giving a new form to things in that country, which, conſidering the intereſt which ſeveral of its princes have in other parts, muſt, from its conſequences, neceſſarily throw all Europe into confuſion.

The third balance is in Italy, where the ſeveral princes and ſtates ſeem to underſtand their own intereſts beſt of any. Upon this principle it ſeems reaſonable to preſerve both the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon in the poſſeſſion of their dominions in

that country; ſince if either ſhould be expelled, the other would ſoon be abſolutely maſter of the whole. For the ſame reaſon it is expedient, that the firſt branch of the houſe of Bourbon ſettled there, ſhould not only be ſovereign, but altogether independent, which, in the courſe of a few years, would neceſſarily change the face of affairs there, and bring that power to act under the ſame political maxims with the reſt of the princes and ſtates of Italy.

It ſeems likewiſe requiſite for the ſecurity of this balance, that the power of his Sardinian majeſty ſhould be extended; becauſe every ſucceſſion of territory to him, muſt fix him more effectually to thoſe principles which conduce to the peace and proſperiey of Italy; and tho' accidents may happen, and for a time, perhaps, oblige him to temporize, or, it may be, act inconſiſtently in regard to this balance; yet it is certain, nothing but real neceſſity, and being reduced to downright deſpair, can carry him into an alliance fatal to his own independency, as well as to the intereſts of his ſubjects, and the common good of Chriſtendom *.

BANKS are divided into thoſe of circulation and depoſit. Of the firſt is the bank of England, and that of Amſterdam of the ſecond.

The Bank of England conſiſts of two ſorts of creditors; the one of that ſet of men, who, in king William's time, when money was ſcarce and dear, lent the public 1,200,000 l. at eight per cent. intereſt, and 4000 l. were allowed them for charges, amounting in the whole to 100,000 l. a-year, an excluſive right of banking, as a corporation, for thirteen years, under the denomination of the proprietors of the Bank; and which for obtaining prolongation of their privileges, has been ſince increaſed by farther loans to the public at a leſs intereſt, to near the

* Preſent State of Europe, p. 24

ſum

ſum of 11,000,000 l. which if we compute the intereſt at three per cent. (as what they have more on ſome part anſwers incident charges) it produces 330,000 l. a-year; and as they divide annually five per cent. to their proprietors, which is 550,000 l. it is evident that they make a yearly profit of 220,000 l. out of the money of the people who keep caſh with them, and theſe are the other ſort of creditors; and as for what money the bank lends to the government, they have for the moſt part but three per cent. intereſt, I conclude that the credit caſh they have in their hands may amount to 11,000,000 l. and there out is employed in loans to the government, diſcounting of bills, and in buying gold and ſilver 7,333,333 $\frac{1}{3}$ l. which at three per cent. intereſt or profit, will amount to above 220,000 l. and remains 3,666,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ l. in caſh, ſufficient for circulation and current payments And experience has evinced, that whenever any miſtruſt has occaſioned any run upon the bank for any continuance, and the people not finding the treaſure ſo ſoon exhauſted as they ſurmiſed, it flowed in again faſter on the one hand, than it was drawn out on the other.

We ſee by this account, that the bank of England keeps in coin one-third of the value of all their notes in circulation. With this quantity buſineſs is carried on with great ſmoothneſs, owing to the proſperity of that kingdom, which ſeldom owes any conſiderable balance to other nations; but the conſequence of the obligation to pay in coin is, that when the nation comes to owe a balance, the notes which the bank had iſſued to ſupport domeſtic circulation only, come upon it for the payment of a foreign balance, and thereby the coin which it had provided for home demand only is drawn out. It is this circumſtance, above all others, which diſtreſſes banks of circulation.

A London merchant can give no order upon the bank unleſs at a time when he has money lodged in it. If he has occaſion for money at any time, he ſends to the bank the bills he has before they become due, and the bank diſcounts them at certain rates according to their nature. If it be a foreign bill, the bank in diſcounting it retains of the ſum at the rate of four per cent. per ann. for the time the bill has to run; but if the bill be at a longer day than ſixty days, they will not diſcount it; ſo in this caſe the merchant muſt keep his bill until it is within ſixty days of the term of payment. The intention of this operation of diſcounting bills is plainly to employ the caſh in the bank in a way to draw an intereſt for it; but as merchants allow their money to lie dead as ſhort a time as they poſſibly can, the bank muſt have quick returns for what they advance upon diſcount, in order to be conſtantly ready to anſwer all demands. This is no loſs to the bank, and a prodigious advantage to trade.

The bank of Amſterdam is the moſt famous one of depoſit. The inſtitution of that bank ordered, that all bills of exchange for any ſum exceeding three hundred florins, ſhould be paid in ſpecie to the bank; and that the holder of ſuch bills ſhould, inſtead of receiving the coin, have the value of it writ down in the books of the bank to his credit at his command, to be transferred to any perſon he ſhould appoint, but never more to be demandable from the bank in ſpecie. By this operation the maſs of coin circulating conſtantly from hand to hand between the merchants of Amſterdam, began by degrees to be heaped up in the bank; and as the heap augmented, ſo did the ſum of credit augment upon the books of the bank.

Now the credit in the books of the bank, which is every day transferable at the bank, anſwers every purpoſe of coin, either for payment or loan; and the

the proprietor has neither the trouble of receiving the ſpecie, nor any riſk from robbery or falſe coin.

The firſt advantage the city reaped from this inſtitution, was to ſecure the reſidence of trade in that place. Capitals transferable only at the bank, laid the proprietors under a neceſſity of fixing their dwelling where their funds were, and where only they could be turned to account. It had another excellent effect in commerce, it pointed out the men of ſubſtance. A credit in bank is no wiſe equivocal, it is a fund of undoubted ſecurity.

From the conſtitution of this bank, we may form an eſtimate of the extent of the depoſit.

It can only ſwallow up a ſum equal to what is neceſſary for circulating the payments of the city of Amſterdam. Were a ſum exceeding that to be ſhut up in the bank, and were the credits written in the books of the bank to exceed that proportion, it is plain that the value of the bank money would ſink immediately. The reaſon is obvious, the credits transferable are of no uſe to thoſe who have no occaſion to tranſfer; that is to pay, lend, or exchange at Amſterdam. So ſoon then as all the demand of Amſterdam is ſatisfied, the proprietors of the overplus will ſeek to realize their ſuperfluous credit, in order to inveſt the value ariſing from it in ſome other place where a demand may ariſe.

During my ſtay in Holland, I was at great pains, to no purpoſe, to diſcover whether ever the bank iſſued any part of their credit caſh upon any ſuch occaſions. Every one I converſed with was of opinion, that if ever any coin had been taken from the treaſure of the bank, it muſt have been by authority of the ſtates for national purpoſes: a ſtep conducted with the greateſt ſecrecy; and the matter of fact I found was extremely doubtful; but this is nothing to the preſent purpoſe. That the coin may be diſpoſed of, I allow, tho' I do not believe it; but how is the ſuperfluous credit within the books to be diſpoſed of?

There

There lies the difficulty. The popular opinion is, that coin has been taken out for the ſervice of the ſtate; the opinion of many intelligent men is quite contrary.

My opinion is, that every ſhilling written in the books of the bank, is actually locked up in coin, in the bank repoſitories. I have not however the leaſt doubt, but that both the credit written in the books of the bank, and the caſh in their repoſitories which balance it, may ſuffer alternate augmentations and diminutions, according to the greater or leſs demand for bank money. If I can prove this, all difficulties will be removed.

There are upon the ſquare before the town houſe of Amſterdam (the Place de Dam) between ten and eleven in the morning, a number of caſhiers, whoſe buſineſs it is to buy and ſell bank credit, for current coin. They bargain with all thoſe who have any occaſion either to buy or ſell, and according to the demand for ſpecie or credit, the agio riſes and ſinks: and as theſe caſhiers muſt conſtantly gain, whether they furniſh bank credit or current coin, ſince they are never the demanders in either operation, it is commonly found that there is in their favour about 1-ſixteenth per cent. or, perhaps, 1-eighth per cent. according to the revolutions in the demand; that is to ſay, one who would firſt buy ſpecie and then ſell it, would loſe 1-eighth or perhaps 1-ſixteenth by the operation.

It is a matter of fact, that the bank lends both coin and credit to the brokers, caſhiers, or Lombards, who are conſtantly found on the Place de Dam.

Whenever, therefore, the bank finds that agio falls too low, with reſpect to the coin; and when, in conſequenece of that, the demand for coin increaſes, then they lend coin out of their repoſitories to the brokers; and when it riſes they lend credit.

This coin the brokers diſpoſe of to thoſe who have bank

bank money, and who want to convert it into coin. They ſell the coin for bank credit: the purchaſer writes off the transfer in favour of the broker, and he again repays the value of the coin to the bank; by ran sferring the credit he obtained for the coin in favour of the bank.

This done the bank may expunge this credit from their books, by which means their depoſit of coin is diminiſhed, and alſo the ſum of credit which was found ſuperfluous.

If, on the other hand, the circulation of the trade of the city ſhould, in a ſhort time afterwards, begin to increaſe, thoſe who have coin, which in that caſe would not ſo well ſerve the uſes of circulation as the bank credit, come with it to the brokers, who ſell them bank credit for it: this coin the brokers deliver to the bank, which writes off the credit lent to the broker, in favour of him who has paid him coin for it.

This is, as far as I can gueſs, the nature of the circulation of the coin in the bank of Amſterdam*.

BASHEE ISLANDS, an archipelago between the Liquois iſlands and China, ſcarcely known to the Europeans, called by our Buccaneers the Baſhee iſlands, which abound with gold, ſpices, rich gums, and dying drugs†, and inhabited by a moſt obliging and inoffenſive people, who poſſeſs ſome tolerable boats, and carry on a little commerce, but are under ſubjection to no foreign power ‡. It appears beyond contradiction, that any nation bleſſed with common ſenſe, and at the ſame time not void of common humanity, might do with theſe people, who are very numerous, what they pleaſed. It is eaſy to apprehend how uſeful they might be made to thoſe who would barely undertake to encourage and protect

* Stewart's Political Oeconomy, Vol. ii. p. 158, 302.

† P. Bentii Jab. Purchas's Pilgrimage, b. v. ch. xiv. ſect. 1.

‡ Dampier's Voyages, Vol. i. p. 432.

their

their commerce, in conſideration of a proportional tribute, or other ſervices. Although the property and poſſeſſion of the Ladrones and Marian iſlands belong to the Spaniards, yet all mankind have an equal right to know the ſituation, hiſtory, and circumſtances of theſe iſlands, and their inhabitants, as well as the advantages that have been drawn, and might be drawn from them. And whatever motives they may have had for making ſo little uſe of what they do poſſeſs, there can be no motives to us to be as ſilent as they; and if from the influence of theſe motives, they ſhould continue for ages to come to act with the ſame ſupineneſs they have done for two centuries paſt, this will not alter the nature or the reaſon of things, or detract in any degree from the truth of what we have aſſerted from the lights of hiſtory and experience, much leſs preclude the reſt of the world from examining into the poſſibility and practicability, of finding ſome means or other for bringiug thoſe ſcattered iſlands and continents, whatever they may be, lying in the vicinity of theſe poſſeſſions of the Spaniards, into connection and correſpondence with other known parts of the globe; and therefore we thought ourſelves at full liberty to treat this ſubject as freely and as copiouſly as it appears to us, the advantages which might flow from a better acquaintance which theſe iſlands and continents deſerved *.

BERMUDAS, the name of ſome iſlands ſituated in the Atlantic ocean, in latitude 30 degrees 30 minutes north, and in 35 degrees of weſt longitude, at a vaſt diſtance from the continent, ſince the neareſt land, which is Cape Hatteras, in Carolina, lies at leaſt two hundred and fifty leagues to the weſt of

* Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. ix. p. 587. Diſcourſe of Lopez Vaz. concerning the Spaniſh Power in the Indies in Hackluit's Voyages, Vol. iii. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts. Atlas Maritimus, p. 297.

them,

them, and they are above 1600 leagues from England. The air has always been thought extremely wholeſome, and the country wonderfully pleaſant, inſomuch that people were wont to remove hither from the other colonies, in order to recover their broken conſtitutions. The heat in ſummer is very ſupportable, and, with reſpect to winter, they have really none; nay, ſome go ſo far as to affirm, that there is but one ſeaſon in the iſland of Bermudas, and this a perpetual ſpring: which, however, may be in ſome meaſure aſcribed to the ſoil, which, tho' it be thin, is very rich and very fruitful, though remarkably ſtony. The earth is of ſeveral colours, brown, white, and red; the firſt is the beſt mould, and the laſt the worſt. Two or three feet under the mould they find a white, hard body, which the inhabitants call the rock, but which ſeems more to reſemble chalk, or a pumice-ſtone, through which the roots of their trees force a paſſage, and a kind of clay is generally found under it.

Maize, or Indian corn, which is the main ſupport of the people here, is twice reaped, for what they ſow in March they cut in July; in a fortnight after they ſow again, and reap in December. They have all the plants peculiar to the Weſt Indies; and all kinds of herbs, roots, flowers, and trees brought from Europe thrive to perfection. They have ſome tobacco, but it is of an indifferent ſort, and therefore does not yield them any great profit: but certainly, with a little care, they might be able to produce any kind of tobacco, or other vegetable that turns to account almoſt in any climate. Their orange, in point of ſize, ſcent, and flavour, far exceeds any either in the Weſt or Eaſt Indies; and their cedar, which from the nature of the ſoil wherein it grows, is firmer and more durable than any of its kind that we are acquainted with, anſwers in every reſpect to oak-timber, and is found of extraordinary uſe in ſhip building; ſo that the beſt

ſloops,

ſloops, brigantines, and other ſmall veſſels, both for ſervice and ſailing, which are in uſe throughout the Weſt Indies, are built at Bermudas.

There is ſcarce an eighth part of theſe iſlands inhabited; and all but St. George's, St. David's, and Cooper's iſles, have only a few houſes ſcattered up and down; they altogether are within the circuit of ſix or ſeven leagues at moſt. The main, or great iſland of all, is St. George's, and is about ſixteen miles in length, and not a league over in the broadeſt part, but is fortified by nature all round, the rocks every way extending themſelves a great way into the ſea. The number of people in the whole who inhabit theſe iſlands, has been computed to be nine thouſand, and it is thought they do not much increaſe, many of the younger ſort removing, for the ſake of making their fortunes, into other colonies.

The building of ſhips and ſloops is the moſt advantageous branch of their trade; and the people of Bermudas ſeem to content themſelves with the pleaſure and plenty of their country, with a ſafe and quiet retreat from the troubles and cares of the other part of the world, without any ambition to enrich themſelves. They have conſtantly maintained a moſt excellent reputation, inſomuch that I knew a very ingenious gentleman, as well acquainted with this, and our other plantations, as thirty years trading to them all could render him, who was wont to ſay, that Bermudas was the fineſt country, and inhabited by the beſt people he ever knew *.

It is the general neglect of almoſt all the adminiſtrations we have had in England ſince the reign of Elizabeth, that colonization has been ſo much miſunderſtood. We have either neglected our American poſſeſſions entirely, or elſe exerted ourſelves improperly. I before, under the article Baha-

* Harris's Voyages, Vol. ii. p. 242.

ma, explained the importance of planting theſe iſlands, and I may make the ſame obſervation on Bermudas. The climate is extremely temperate, and the ſoil thin and rocky; this has, with great juſtice, induced ſome writers to recommend vines for their culture. There can be no doubt but they would ſucceed to admiration; but ſuch trials muſt not be left to individuals, who are unable to do juſtice to them: government ought to be at the expence, that the thing may be effectually done. Whether it is negligence, or oeconomy, that prevents ſuch undertakings as this, it is equally injurious to the intereſts of Britain. We pay near 200,000 l. annually for the wines of the growth of the iſland of Madeira, all which might be ſaved by raiſing them in thoſe of Bermudas, which any perſon, who will attentively conſider their ſoil and ſituation, will have no doubt of being extremely practicable.

BOUNTY on exported CORN. It was firſt given in 1688, as it is ſaid, by way of encouragement to the landed intereſt, who exerted themſelves ſo ſucceſsfully in the Revolution. It is a meaſure which has been much found fault with by ſome writers, and as greatly commended by others: we ſhall not give the opinions and arguments of both parties, becauſe there is a moſt deciſive ſuperiority in thoſe who argue in its favour: the enemies of the meaſure being in every inſtance of fact or reaſon, abſolutely driven out of the field by their adverſaries; to quote them, therefore, would be to copy what is, or will ſoon be, utterly obſolete or forgotten.

The bounty upon the exportation of our corn has, more particularly, been the means not only of procuring a moſt profitable return of wealth from foreign countries, but of encreaſing the cultivation, ſo as to afford a cheaper ſupply to our home conſumption, and, accordingly from thence, has been inſtrumental to the advancement of our national commerce

merce in general: thus, by a ſmall expence at the firſt ſetting out, our government has been repaid by a ſuperabundant recompence, upon the cloſe of the balance at laſt.

Were I to enter into a more minute detail of the advantages we receive from our more general indulgence, I might obſerve, that the price of our corn, here at home, ever ſince the allowance of a bounty, has been much cheaper than it was before, owing to the greater plenty: a proof of what I have ſo often repeated, that the more the conſumption of any commodity was encouraged, the more will be its produce. I might in the next place refer to the cuſtom houſe entries, which will ſhew that, with regard to the quantity, we have, for a ſeries of time, uſually exported upon an average, more than a million of quarters each year, which, with regard to the price, eſtimated alſo upon an average have annually returned more than a million and a half ſterling, remitted to us by foreigners upon the balance of that trade. Add to this, the advantage of employing our own ſhips and ſeamen in the carriage, and the greater employment of our huſbandmen, by the enlargement of the cultivation, whoſe wages are paid by the foreign countries that purchaſe our corn.

From hence it may not be improper to offer a few conſiderations on behalf of the landed intereſt of this kingdom; that landed intereſt, which by our native produce being exported abroad, has introduced ſuch immenſe riches to our nation, with this farther circumſtance in its favour, that excepting the bounty granted as above, it has never put the government to any expence for its protection, nor has it involved us in any war for its ſecurity; at the ſame time it pays a moſt liberal tax, collected by the leaſt burthenſome method, nay, it pays, moreover, all the duties and exciſes that are impoſed upon the ſale of its productions, the amount of which, as the great Mr. Locke has fully proved, falls at laſt, with an accumulated weight,

weight, upon the land and land-owners. Indeed, upon the whole, we find the connection between land and trade ſo united in their mutual dependencies, that it is difficult to lay a burthen upon the one which will not be attended with a prejudice to the other.

This conſideration, therefore, ſhould deter us from any attempt to take away, or even to leſſen the accuſtomed bounty upon the exportation of our corn, which would not only be prejudicial to the land, but deſtructive in the end to every other branch of commerce: for as it would diſcourage the cultivation of our products, it would occaſion a greater ſcarcity. Scarcity of proviſions would be attended with dearneſs of living; dearneſs of living with dearneſs of labour, and ſo on with all that train of conſequences which I have before ſet down, as finally terminating in the loſs of all our trade: but we have found by experience the contrary effects, ever ſince the bounty has been granted; and ſince experience is the ſureſt guide, all innovations upon it muſt be hazardous to the ſtate. I have enlarged the more upon this point, becauſe ſuch innovations have been lately propoſed, under the pretence of ſaving to government the great expence, as it is called, of the annual bounty; but we ought to remember, that it is a rule in commerce, not to ſpare an expence in one article, which may produce a more than equivalent profit in another. Now the intent of the bounty is, to enable us to ſell our corn the cheaper in all foreign markets: this cheapneſs quickens the ſale, and, the increaſe of the ſale, returns an additional profit to the nation; which, from the greater circulation of riches, and the enlarged payment of other duties and taxes, yields a ſuperabundant recompence to the government for the firſt coſt in ſetting out *.

* Laws and Policy of England, p. 56.

The following TABLE ſhews the mean price of wheat at Windſor market, at ſeveral periods, for one hundred and ſixty-nine years.

		years.	l.	s.	d.	years.	l.	s.	d.
From	1594 to 1621	19	2	2	5¼	69	2	8	5¼
	1613 to 1637	25	2	7	4				
	1638 to 1662	25	2	15	8				
	1663 to 1687	25	2	5	3½	25	2	5	3½
	1688 to 1712	25	2	8	5½	75	2	2	5¼
	1713 to 1737	25	2	0	7½				
	1738 to 1762	25	1	18	2¼				

By this it is evident, that wheat has been cheaper the laſt ſeventy-five years ſince the bounty commenced, than it was for ninety-four years before. It is farther obſervable, that for the firſt ſixty-nine years the price of wheat was continually riſing, and ſince the bounty was given it, has been continually ſinking; which ſeems to be a plain proof, that this ſinking of the price was owing to the bounty. The twenty-five years from 1663 to 1687, are ſtated ſeparately; becauſe in that period a duty was firſt laid on the importation of corn, which, with two additional duties afterwards, amounted almoſt to a prohibition; the conſequence of which is here viſible in the price, for wheat, which for many years before was riſing, did at this time ſink more than ten ſhillings a quarter *.

* Muſeum Ruſticum, Vol. vi. p. 22.

The

The fourteen higheſt annual prices of wheat before the bounty was given are as follows:

l.	s.	d.
3	9	6
3	8	0
3	13	8
4	5	0
4	0	0
3	16	8
3	13	4
3	5	0
3	6	0
3	10	0
3	14	0
3	8	8
3	4	8
3	0	0
49	14	6
Aver. 3	11	0

The fourteen higheſt prices ſince the bounty.

l.	s.	d.
3	7	8
3	4	0
3	11	0
3	0	0
3	8	4
3	4	0
3	18	6
3	18	0
3	0	0
2	13	0
2	14	0
2	14	6
2	11	0
2	10	8
43	14	8
Aver. 3	2	5

Laſt period cheaper than the firſt by 0 8 7

This inferiority of price is a ſufficient anſwer to thoſe who aſſert, that ſuch a prodigious exportation, as we ſometimes carry on, when the crop abroad fails, raiſes the price in ſome particular years to a height unknown before the bounty, and intolerable to our own poor.

But there is another circumſtance not to be forgotten, which is clear, ſtriking, and deciſive: the price of all other things is advanced a fourth part within theſe hundred years; owing, in ſome meaſure, to a vaſt extenſion of commerce, which has rendered money ſo much more plentiful than before, but probably in a much greater degree to the infinity of our paper currency; therefore the foregoing prices do not diſcover the real ſinking of that of

wheat, unleſs we deduct from every year the proportion of the riſe of the price of other things, this will diſplay the vaſt plenty of corn which the exportation has given to the nation, for nothing but ſuch a plenty could be attended with a conſtant lowering of the price.

When the exportation ran the higheſt ever known (1750), it is remarkable that year the price at home was ſo low as 1 l. 12 s. 6 d. a quarter, and the next year 1 l, 18 s. 6 d. Indeed, the price falls at home in proportion to the quantity exported, as will appear by the following table.

years.	Bounty.	Price.
1746	£. 99,385	£. 1 19 0
1748	202,637	1 17 0
1749	228,566	1 16 0
1750	325,405	1 12 6

From this little ſketch let the enemies of the bounty cry out, that we give a premium on foreign manufactures, by feeding their workmen, and ſtarving our own, which are common cant phraſes, and as contrary to fact as light is to darkneſs, which is fully proved by this table, wherein we find the price at home falling in proportion to the quantity exported, until that quantity became ſo immenſe, that the very bounty amounted to above 300,000 l. when the price was the loweſt of all.

So far indeed has the bounty been from raiſing the price of corn at home, that, as I have before proved, it has conſtantly lowered it; and here lies a vaſt ſaving to the nation, which is not conſidered by thoſe who plead againſt the meaſure. Since the bounty, wheat on an average has been nine ſhillings and threepence a quarter cheaper than before, if reckoned at the mean fineneſs of quality, and the Win-

cheſter

cheſter meaſure in quantity *. Now the ſaving of this ſingle article in ſixty-eight years (during which time accounts have been laid before parliament) amounts to upwards of one hundred millions ſterling; the freight and value of the corn to forty millions; the bounty, therefore, amounts clearly to one hundred and forty millions, without reckoning the infinite variety of hands employed by ſuch additional cultivation †.

But whence comes it, that numerous writers ſhould be extremely deſirous of proving that wheat has been dearer ſince than before the bounty, though the exceſs they ſtrive for amounts only to ſix-pence a quarter. This point being aimed at ſo much, ſhews plainly that they think it of the utmoſt importance. But what ſay they to the riſe of every thing but wheat? Why has the intereſt of money fallen? The rent of land, rates of beef, mutton, pork, manufactures, &c. riſen ſo high ſince the Revolution? Why becauſe the riches of the nation have encreaſed, conſequently the value of money fallen: but as this cauſe is equally applicable to wheat as to other commodities, how comes it that that ſhould, inſtead of riſing have ſunk? Or, to grant the poſitions of theſe writers, have aroſe only ſix-pence a quarter?

The intereſt of money marks the increaſe of commerce, of income, of wealth; and, in a word, of that aggregate improvement, which raiſes all prices. In the fourſcore years from 1524 to 1604, intereſt was 9 l. 16 s. per cent. The fall to 1760 has been gradual and regular, to 3 l. 13 s. 6 d. or about one-third of the former height; whereas the price of land was about the firſt period ten years purchaſe, and in 1760 about thirty, which is exactly in proportion to the intereſt of money. In the thirty years from 1660 to 1669, intereſt was 7 l. 6 s. 6 d.

* Three Tracts on the Corn Trade, p. 43.
† Farmer's Letters, Vol. i. p. 44.

and land at 22½ years purchaſe; beef and pork were about 1s. 2d. per ſtone, and mutton 1s. 4d. Whereas from 1730 to 1760, beef and mutton were 2s. 0d. and pork 2s. 6d.

The riſe from the firſt thirty years to the ſecond is in beef, ſeventy-one per cent.

Ditto in mutton, fifty per cent.

Ditto in pork, one hundred and fourteen per cent.

Medium, ſeventy-eight per cent.

Medium of mutton and beef, ſixty per cent.

Intereſt is fallen juſt one half, which bears no unexact proportion to this riſe of mutton and beef, which are, perhaps, better guides than pork, from the variation in the amount of the navy.

From hence we have the greateſt reaſon to judge, that wheat ſhould be in the ſame predicament, unleſs ſome peculiar meaſure had been uſed with it. In the thirty years preceding 1690, the price was 1l. 16s. 3d. the riſe of ſixty per cent. would have made it in the laſt thirty years £. 2 17 11

Whereas it was only 1 9 5

So that the fall in the price has been 1 8 6

That I fix upon the period which makes the leaſt for my argument (according to the ideas of theſe writers themſelves) will appear from the height of the bounty in that ending in 1760; for in thoſe thirty years, no leſs was paid in bounty than 3,613,115l. whereas it never aroſe in any other thirty years to more than 1,800,000l. and yet, notwithſtanding the exportation of ſuch immenſe quantities, to ſtarve our own poor, did wheat ſtand at 1l. 8s. 6d. lower price than it ought to have done, according to the riſe of every thing elſe; I ſay every thing, for tho' I have calculated from beef and mutton, yet labour, rent, cattle, &c. all are riſen as high, and ſome much higher.

But it is ſaid that the bounty has been the occaſion of that general riſe, for if you make a ſcarcity in one

one article of food, it will heighthen all the reſt. This it muſt be confeſſed is a very curious argument, for, granting a falſe poſition, how very conſonant to common ſenſe does it ſound, that the exporting immenſe quantities of one ſort of food, ſhould raiſe that ſort only ſix-pence in forty-three ſhillings, which is not 1-half per cent. and yet raiſe other articles 60 per cent.

This opens a new view of the ſubject; wheat has fallen greatly ſince exportation, this is the real fact; nor could it ſo regularly happen, without having the effect of ſinking the rates of the other articles of proviſion; ſo that we do not ſee the prices which beef, mutton, &c. would have yielded, had no bounty taken place, the riſe, inſtead of 60 or 70, might probably have been 100 per cent.

When there is no ſort of probability of the prices of proviſons raiſing to any thing like the proportionate rates of other commodities, why ſhould we be ſo very ſolicitous for altering thoſe valuable corn laws, which have been proved to be of ſuch great importance to the welfare of this country. Parliament, in 1688, thought two pounds eight ſhillings a proper bounty price: were we to take the riſe of labour, of other commodities, or the rate of intereſt for our guide, the exporting price now ſhould be much higher; inſtead of which it is clamoured that no bounty at all ſhould be given: how wiſely the legiſlature muſt judge.

Were the bounty diſcontinued for ever, the effect would undoubtedly be the average price of corn riſing; an effect by no means objectable, were the prices to be regular: but the misfortune would be a certainty of variation. Thoſe who urge a total repeal of the bounty, to make corn cheaper, talk againſt all principles: there cannot, with ſenſible men, be a ſhadow of doubt, but that the more you encourage the growth of corn for exportation, the more you will have for home conſumption. Is beef too dear?

Would you make it cheaper? give a bounty on the exportation of it. Where is the real politician that will aſſert your making it the dearer?

If corn could be preſerved permanently at a fixed price, I ſhould apprehend the following rates not an undue mean between the genius of our old laws, and the rage of novel ideas.

The beſt wheat at two pounds eight ſhillings a quarter.

The beſt rye at one pound eight ſhillings a quarter.

The beſt barley at one pound per quarter.

I have ſuppoſed three variations of the price; now if allowances be made for the fineneſs of the corn, and thoſe variations provided for; quere, if the ſtages in the price, and the regulations conſequent, might not be upon a ſimilar plan with the underwritten.

A bounty of 5 s. a quarter on wheat, 3 s. 6 d. on rye, and 2 s. 6d. on barley, each at the average quality, when at or under theſe prices; to ceaſe for ſix months when they are exceeded; and if the exceſs continues at the end of that ſix months, the ſuſpenſion to continue for another ſix months, and ſo on to two pounds two ſhillings, one pound ſix ſhillings, and ſeventeen ſhillings and ſix-pence.

Importation with a ſlight duty when they riſe to two pounds five ſhillings, one pound eight ſhillings, and nineteen ſhillings.

The variations to hold as above for ſix months.

Importation duty free for ſix months, when they exceed the price of two pounds ten ſhillings, one pound eleven ſhillings, and one pound one ſhilling.

Theſe prices are far lower than the former parliamentary ones; lower than they ought to be, if exportation was not always allowed, which is a point of the utmoſt conſequence, that it could in no reſpect be juſtly feared will appear from reflecting, that the ports being opened for importation, at prices by no means high, and a regular trade always carrying on

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in corn, a ſupply would ever be at hand whenever demand aroſe: nor could the price of wheat ever riſe higher in Britain, than among both the trading and growing nations of Europe; for in ſuch caſe all exportation would ſtop of itſelf, and importation take place inſtead of it. Why have embargoes been ſo often laid on our exportation, when corn would have been ſent away without a bounty? There is no ſound reaſon can be given for ſuch a conduct, but falſe and miſtaken ideas of prices, that ought to be eſteemed high or low. The very ſtate of the caſe proves, that corn was lower here than in other countries, or ſuch could not pay our price, with our merchants profit and freight: and on what rational account are you deſirous of having corn cheaper here than elſewhere? It was on different principles that our anceſtors reaſoned when they paſſed laws, the wiſdom of which we have felt for near a century, and heard the object of Europe's admiration *.

A French writer upon this point expreſſes himſelf as follows; if we recur to the firſt cauſe of the improvements in Engliſh agriculture, which have in general augmented the earth's productions in the kingdom, we ſhall find it in the wiſe politics of a bounty eſtabliſhed in 1689, by act of parliament, on the exportation of her corn. Inſtead of which in other countries individuals pay the government for leave to export; here, on the contrary, government pays individuals.

All the common meaſures practiſed for augmenting the products of the land had been of no avail without this, or at leaſt been of but little uſe.

Before this epocha, the agriculture of England poſſeſſed but a middling rank in Europe.

While that monarchy thought only of her own ſubſiſtence, ſhe ſcarce ever found enough for her wants, but was obliged to have recourſe to foreign-

* The Expediency of a free Exportation of Corn, p. 8, &c.

ers,

ers, for making up her neceſſary quantity; but when ſhe made her agriculture an object of commerce, the culture of her lands became the moſt abundant ſource in Europe.

Without this ſtroke of ſtate, the beſt combined of all that have appeared in modern politics, England would never have ſown but for herſelf, for what ſhould ſhe have done with the ſurplus of her grain? The bounty only could enſure a ſale in foreign countries, and thereby become an uniform ſource of augmentation in her crops.

It has been objected againſt this ſyſtem (for there are always in ſtates, men who ſee only the bad ſide of every regulation) that giving a bounty for the exportation of corn, was keeping up the price in England higher than it would be without it; and lowering the price in the markets of foreigners, thereby ſinking the price of labour in other nations, and raiſing it at home.

It has been ſufficiently proved by the compariſon of the price of corn before the bounty, with that of it ſince, that corn has not riſen in England.

But ſuppoſe that this had really been found an inconvenience, in what reſpect could it be placed in oppoſition to the advantages? As for example, that of preventing the agriculture of her neighbours from becoming flouriſhing; reducing moſt of their lands to be waſte; diminiſhing the claſs of their labourers; in one word, depreſſing their governments into a precarious ſtate, by taking off their dependance for ſubſiſtence on themſelves.

If we combine all the means which that monarchy has executed for an age for forming her power, we ſhall find it is to this that ſhe in a particular manner owes her elevation.

The advantages which ſhe has received from the bounty cannot be diſſembled, the face of England has been entirely changed. It is only ſince this epocha

that

that ſhe has acted a firſt part, and figured among the greateſt powers of Europe.

We have nothing to do but to adopt her ſyſtem of a bounty for our agriculture, to make as great a figure as theirs.

Not only the augmentation of our riches demands it, but our political ſyſtem itſelf requires it.

It is not very eaſy, however, to determine the fixed prices among us, at which a bounty ſhould be given.

The benefit of that of England, which has been eſtabliſhed ſixty-ſix years, and has fulfilled its object, gives them a great advantage over us.

They have broken up a greater number of lands in that kingdom, than we have in France, in proportion to the ſize of the two. She has diminiſhed the general amount of labour, while ſhe has multiplied that of labourers *; ſhe has ſpread her inhabitants in the moſt beneficial manner for cultivation; ſhe has given, as it were, local gradations to general population; ſhe has placed her farmers and labourers ſo much at their eaſe, that they have found the continual means of improving their lands; ſhe has ſpread, by the general emulation diffuſed through the kingdom, practices in agriculture the leaſt complicated, and the moſt profitable; ſhe has cut canals of communication throughout the kingdom; ſhe has multiplied the number of her ſhips, and diminiſhed the price of freight to foreigners †.

BORNEO, the greateſt iſland in the world. It is introduced here not to give a geographical deſcription of it, which no book can do, as the accounts we have had of it are extremely few, but to take an opportunity of remarking how remiſs all companies eſtabliſhed for excluſive commerce are in trading to the countries allowed by their charter. This iſland is under the line; it is known to produce gold,

* There is an ambiguity in this which I do not perfectly comprehend.

† Les Interets de la France mal entendus, tom i. p. 163.

diamonds

diamonds, and ſpices. The Dutch have but one or two ſettlements in it; all the reſt of the coaſt is open to other nations, but none of them take advantage of it. Were not the iſle of ſuch immenſe extent, the Dutch would encompaſs it as they have done Ceylon. Our India company, which is the moſt powerful in India, next to the Dutch, and of late more powerful even than them, though unpoſſeſſed of ſuch a capital as Batavia, which is a great diſadvantage; our company, I ſay, might certainly open a moſt beneficial trade with this iſland; but it is conducted upon the old narrow principles of making the moſt of the the old trades, and ſaving the expences of opening new ones. If the Eaſt India trade was laid open, can we believe that our merchants would neglect ſuch an immenſe country, in the richeſt climate in the world, and known to abound with the richeſt commodities? In all probability they would open a trade with the inhabitants, and export thither great quantities of our manufactures, the work of poor now ſtarving in our ſtreets. See EAST INDIA COMPANY.

BRAZIL. This colony is ſaid by ſome writers to be the moſt flouriſhing one poſſeſſed by any nation in America; but other accounts do not ſpeak of it in ſuch a ſtile, but rather think the diſcovery of gold and diamonds has been miſchievous to it, inſtead of doing any real ſervice. From 60,000 arobes of ſugar the export dropped to 24,000, and the tobacco plantations declined in proportion. This is perfectly conſiſtent with principles, and the effect would be doubtleſs the ſame, if gold and diamond mines were diſcovered in Virginia and Carolina. Brazil wood is now a royal commodity, that is to ſay, it is ſold for the advantage of the crown only; and it produces about 100,000 cruſades, which is ſomething better than 15000 l. annually *. In 1740, the diamond

* Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 184.

mines

mines were farmed at 138,000 cruſades, or about 26,000l. annually †. The whole of the king's fifth from the gold mines never exceeded half a million of our money ‡.

BRITTANY, a province of France.

STATE *of the manufactures and commodities of the province of Brittany, which are yearly exported to the other provinces of the kingdom, and foreign countries.*

	Livres.
Cloths of all kinds, to the amount of	12,000,000
White threads, raw and coloured	1,000,000
Paper	200,000
Woollen ſtuffs for the French iſlands and ſhips	4,000
Honey and wax	600,000
Butter	100,000
Horſes	1,000,000
Oxen	350,000
Hogs	100,000
Sheep	40,000
Corn	100,000
Salt	100,000
Fiſh	50,000
Game	10,000
Fowls	14,000
Skins and leather	60,000
Wines and brandy for the French iſlands	80,000
Cordage and hemp	150,000
Old linens and hair	20,000
Wood for caſks	15,000
Wood for building and fire	230,000
Iron for the anchors of ſhips	10,000

† Account of European Settlements, vol. i. p. 314.
‡ Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 188.

Cards

Cards for playing	6,000
Tallow	100,000
Total	16,375,000

Or about 614,500 l. ſterling.

The following is a computation of the merchandize imported yearly by the ſhips of Nantes (in Brittany) into France, from the French American colonies.

Of unprepared ſugar 6,000,000 lb.
Molaſſes 400,000 lb.
White lump ſugar from 3 to 500,000 lb.
Cacao 200,000 lb.
Ginger about 100,000 lb.
Cotton-wool 150,000 lb.
Indigo about 150,000 lb.
Rocou of Cayenne 10,000 lb.
Tortoiſe-ſhell, between 5 and 6000 lb.
Caſſia 50,000 lb.

The cod fiſhery employs upwards of thirty ſhips belonging to Nantes, from ſeventy to three hundred tons. Fifteen of theſe ſhips are for green cod, and the reſt for dry.

BRITAIN (GREAT.) The proper political conduct of Great Britain is thus laid down by a very able writer. The firſt point dictated by our intereſt, is the maintaining others in their rights, or, to make uſe of a more known term, to ſupport the independency of the powers of Europe; becauſe the engroſſing, ſubjecting, or ſubduing ſeveral countries under one potentate, naturally, and even neceſſarily, contributes to leſſen the number of inhabitants, extinguiſh induſtry amongſt them, and conſequently to enfeeble and impoveriſh them, which muſt be detrimental to us if we correſpond or trade with them.

Another point is, the ſtipulating with foreign nations proper terms of ſecurity, indulgence, and reſpect

ſpect for our ſubjects; and for the effects which from time to time they ſhall carry into thoſe countries, in return for which we muſt covenant on our parts to do and perform what ſhall be thought reaſonable. When theſe kind of alliances are made with due deliberation, they become ſacred ties with reſpect to us, and we are bound to fulfill them punctually; ſo that whatever different form appearances may wear, the true intereſt of Great Britain is always to comply exactly with her treaties.

A third rule is, to reſent wrongs done us vigorouſly, and without delay, more eſpecially where it is in our power to do it by employing our maritime force, ſince in this caſe it anſwers a double end: firſt, it redreſſes the miſchief, whatever it is for the preſent; and, next, it raiſes our reputation for the future. We ought, likewiſe, to be ready to aſſiſt any nation that is unjuſtly attacked, or in any danger of being oppreſſed, that it may be ſeen we are true lovers of freedom, and are as unwilling to behold the necks of others put under a yoke, as to ſubmit our own.

Theſe rules conſtantly attended to, are ſufficient to keep us upon good terms with all the world, and to make it the intereſt of every potentate and ſtate in Europe, to court, as well as to reſpect our friendſhip, which ought to be freely beſtowed, and not either purchaſed or proſtituted. It may ſometimes happen, that a ſtrict compliance with theſe rules will interfere with ſome branch or other of our commerce; neither in ſuch a caſe muſt that be regarded, for it is not this or that particular branch of commerce which coincides with the general intereſt of this nation, but the whole circle of our commerce; and therefore there is nothing abſurd or contradictory in affirming, that the whole muſt take place of a part, any more than it is ridiculous to affirm, that whatever reſpects the intereſt of a nation, becomes

worthy

worthy the concern of a monarch, let its nature be what it will: and, therefore, they are in an error, who think the royal character any way leſſened, by being obliged to attend to trade, a thing already acknowledged in many parts of Europe, and which, by degrees, will be found true in all; to which let me add another thing, that trade is a mean and inconſiderable thing in thoſe countries only where this error ſtill prevails.

It appears in ſome meaſure from our hiſtory, and much more from our records, that we have always intereſted ourſelves very much in the affairs of the North. Our old treaties with Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, ſpeak this plainly; and our alliances with Ruſſia are elder than thoſe of moſt other powers. We have, as occaſion required, acted either as mediators or allies in favour of all theſe powers. The Swedes, in particular, have been frequently indebted to us for aſſiſtance; and, in the laſt century, they detached themſelves, in a great meaſure, from the intereſts of France for the ſake of our friendſhip, which was a meaſure very beneficial to all Europe. At preſent we are cloſely connected with Ruſſia, and with very good reaſon; neither can our alliance ever be ſlighted by the northern potentates, while the Baltic remains open to our fleets, that is, while we remain a maritime power. This conſideration, joined to thoſe important points beforementioned, will always hinder us from entering into improper or inconſiſtent treaties, cannot fail of keeping up our reputation in this part of the world, and conſequently preſerving that reſpect to thoſe privileges, and that attention to our demands, which the ſituation either of our affairs, or theirs, may require. For as we can never have any intereſt ſuperior to, or inconſiſtent with the care of the balance in the North, ſo that muſt alſo remain the great object of all the potentates there, and is not likely to

ſuffer

ſuffer any great alteration within the compaſs of that period, to which human foreſight, or human policy, can extend.

As to the affairs of the German empire in general, and of the ſeveral princes in particular, we have always maintained a fair correſpondence with them, and manifeſted, when it was neceſſary, a juſt concern for their liberties. The ſame conduct will be very incumbent upon us, ſo long as we preſerve a reſpect for the proteſtant religion, and for that great principle of independence, which has been no where cultivated ſo much as in Germany, and where it ſtill continues to make a conſiderable figure. It has been thought alſo the intereſt of this nation to ſhew an extraordinary zeal in favour of the houſe of Auſtria; notwithſtanding the rectitude of that meaſure has been, at different times, controverted, if I miſtake not, by both parties. It is indeed true, that in reference to our commerce, we have no leſs connection with the houſe of Auſtria than with many, I may ſay with moſt, of the great powers in Europe; as alſo that we have ſupported her, in times paſt, at a very large expence to ourſelves, without any viſible view of reaping any immediate advantage from the effects of thoſe ſubſidies, which were ſo liberally granted. To this it has been added, that by this wonderful attachment we have greatly promoted the power and influence of that houſe over the Germanic body, which how uſeful ſoever it might be to the ſovereigns of that illuſtrious family, might turn in ſome meaſure to our prejudice, as it could not fail of giving offence to many of the princes in Germany, who for that very reaſon had recourſe to another power, at a time when, if we had dealt more equally, they would have relied ſolely upon us.

But notwithſtanding all this, if we conſider that the houſe of Auſtria is, on one ſide, the great bulwark of Chriſtendom againſt the Turks, and on the

other the natural balance againſt France, and alſo a near neighbour to us in part of her dominions, it is no wonder at all, but rather an honour to us, that we have ſo cloſely adhered to our engagements. In ſupporting that auguſt family in three ſeveral wars, we juſtified our fidelity to our treaties, which in itſelf is a point ever of the higheſt conſequence, as it is a kind of national honour, which once loſt can hardly ever be regained.

An inveterate hatred, or a perpetual oppoſition to France, is a maxim that never was laid down by any wiſe Engliſh miniſter, and ought never to be received or countenanced. In queen Elizabeth's time we aſſiſted the preſent reigning family, and medals were ſtruck with the arms of England, France, and Holland, as powers whoſe intereſts were thoroughly united, and ſo at that time they were; and our regard for the French was as well founded then as that which we teſtify for the houſe of Auſtria is now *. But preciſely at that juncture, when our conduct ought to have changed, we miſtook our meaſure, and Cromwell by embracing the intereſts of that crown, facilitated the execution of ſchemes that have been ſince ſo detrimental to Europe in general, and this nation in particular. The miſtake was quickly diſcerned, but not ſo ſoon rectified; on the contrary, two of our princes perſiſted in that miſtake, as well againſt the intereſt as againſt the voice of the nation. When we recovered from our error, we found it very difficult to retrieve what had been loſt by this ill conduct; we managed a long and very expenſive war with little apparent ſucceſs: but this war, however, weakened, and wore out the ſtrength of France ſo much, as to make way for the glorious victories that were obtained in that which quickly ſucceeded it, which is ſufficient to conſole us for loſſes and expences in a juſt cauſe. It is that cauſe that we

* Printed in 1752.

ſupport

ſupport, and not an innate, hereditary, and groundleſs averſion to the French nation; for whenever their ſtateſmen ſhall abandon that plan which is dangerous and deſtructive in its nature to themſelves as well as others, they will infallibly diſarm us, and extinguiſh that animoſity which their boundleſs ambition, and not our obſtinacy or perverſeneſs, has excited. There have been within the memory of the preſent generation, certain ſeaſons in which the French miniſters either really, or ſeemingly laid by thoſe ſchemes, and affected to act upon other principles, that very ſoon produced an alteration in the conduct of other powers towards them, which fully juſtifies this obſervation; and therefore their politicians have no juſt grounds for imputing to the fierceneſs of our manners, that alacrity we have ſhewn in entering into all alliances againſt them; but ought rather to aſcribe it to that rectitude of judgement which is natural to a free people, and which will always continue amongſt us as long as we continue free.

The balance in Italy is thought to concern us more remotely, notwithſtanding which we have hitherto ſhewn a juſt and laudable regard to that likewiſe; and indeed diſtance in this reſpect is of little conſequence, more eſpecially to a maritime power. Our commerce in the Mediterranean and in the Levant is of very high importance, and we cannot but be ſenſible, that whatever alterations have been felt in the Italian balance, have likewiſe affected thoſe branches of our commerce in a very ſenſible degree; ſo that whatever ſteps we have taken, either during the continuance of peace by negociations, or in time of war, by ſupporting the only prince in Italy who declared for the common cauſe, and was true to his own intereſts, which were likewiſe ours, were right and juſt meaſures, and have, no doubt, left thoſe impreſſions, which will never be effaced by any arts or intrigues, whatever may be given out to ſerve

their own purpoſes at certain critical junctures, by ſuch as wiſh they may.

Our affairs with the crown of Spain have been long in a perplexed ſituation, notwithſtanding that it is generally thought the Spaniſh miniſters have ſuch true notions of their own intereſt as to be perſuaded that nothing concerns them more than to live upon good terms with Great Britain. Without any queſtion it is our intereſt, likewiſe, to live in a perfect correſpondence with that court, and therefore no pains ought to be ſpared that are requiſite to remove all jealouſies and diſcontents on both ſides. It was hoped that this would have been effectually done by the definitive treaty of Aix-le-Chapelle; but it ſeems that the neceſſity of reſtoring the tranquility of Europe, made it requiſite to conclude that treaty, without adjuſting the differences between the Britiſh and Spaniſh courts, which were left to a particular negotiation.

We ſeem at preſent to be univerſally perſuaded, that it is our intereſt not only to live on good terms with the United Provinces, but alſo in the cloſeſt and moſt perfect harmony, in which it is certain that we act conformably both to the lights of reaſon and experience. Trade is indeed the common miſtreſs of the maritime powers, but at the ſame time they have many other rivals, of whom they have no grounds to be afraid, while a ſtrict union ſubſiſts between them; and a due ſenſe of this ought to induce them to prefer the joint intereſt of both to the private and particular views of either. Another ſtrong reaſon for their living always upon good terms is the ſameneſs of their foreign intereſt, that is to ſay, thoſe who are friends or enemies to one are likewiſe friends and enemies to the other, which is a point that ought to be kept always in view, by ſuch as are intruſted with the adminiſtration of either government. In a word, the conformity that there

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is between the religion, the conſtitution, and the natural inclinations of the inhabitants of both countries, is ſufficient to demonſtrate to any intelligent and diſintereſted perſons that nothing can contribute ſo much to their joint happineſs as ſupporting each other upon all occaſions, and that nothing can bring about their deſtruction ſo ſoon, as ſowing the ſeeds of diſſention and diviſion between them.

The many alterations that happen daily in the world afford, and will always afford, ſufficient reaſons for our exerting ourſelves, not without hazard and expence, in favour of ſome or other of our allies; which however muſt be done, and done with ſpirit and chearfulneſs, if we will remain a free, a great, and a reſpected people. It is in vain to hope to maintain our characters by a ſelfiſh and ſurly, or by a lazy and inactive behaviour; if we reaſon ever ſo little with ourſelves, we may be ſatisfied of this; if we conſult hiſtory, hiſtory will convince us; if we have recourſe to experience, experience will read us the ſame lecture. Neither ought we to conſider what we do as any burden or inconveniency, ſince it ariſes from the rank and figure we make in the world, from thoſe connections which have been the fruit of our ſignificancy, and by which that is upheld and ſecured. In ſhort, when we ſuccour our neighbours, we do it from a principle of juſtice to ourſelves; we flouriſh in part from the commerce that we have with them; and having thus a ſtake in their welfare, it is really conſulting our own intereſt, when we fulfil thoſe engagements that were entered into on account of that ſtake; and therefore, inſtead of repining that we are obliged to it, we ought to rejoice that it is in our power, and ſhew by our alacrity how much it is in our will.

Theſe are the general principles of Britiſh policy, deduced from thoſe tranſactions which, after having been often and ſeriouſly examined in the wiſeſt and

greateſt aſſemblies, have recieved repeated as well as publick ſanctions, ſo that if private men err in adopting them, it will be very difficult to eſtabliſh another rule attended with clearer evidence and ſupported by better authority *.

SITUATION.

The ſituation of the Britiſh dominions, tho' not equal to that of the Spaniſh, is greatly advantageous. All the northern parts of Europe are immediately open to the ports of England and Scotland, and the ſouthern ones to thoſe of Gibraltar and Minorca. Ireland, and the ſouth weſt parts of England, bear immediately upon North America; on the coaſt of Africa her ſettlements are conſiderable; St. Helena lies advantageouſly for an Eaſt India voyage; and in the Indies itſelf the Britiſh dominions are ſecond to thoſe of the Dutch, and of vaſt importance in themſelves. Theſe dominions fully enjoy a quick communication from Europe to eaſt and weſt, but when arrived, there is none from the one to the other, the only point in which Spain is ſuperior. The French are greatly inferior in the want of ports and colonies of conſequence on the continent of North America; of conſiderable ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies; and of a ſufficient extent of coaſt cut by ports in Europe. The Dutch in the Eaſt Indies are ſuperior †, greatly inferior every where elſe.

But the great and material point remains. A continental territory of a moderate power in land armies may be attacked, and if not conquered by a ſuperiour one, at leaſt involved in a multitude of miſeries; and in a variety of circumſtances, no conduct,

* Preſent State of Europe, p. 512.

† One great point of the Dutch ſuperiority in the Eaſt Indies is the near neighbourhood of that vaſt ſouthern continent, which will one day make ſo great a figure in the world; an advantage although not uſed, yet evidently real.

however prudent, will be ſufficient for preventing ſuch evils. In the quarrels of bigotry, ambition, or folly, ſuch a territory may be forced into a part, and find itſelf deſolated by war without a poſſibility of eſcape. But how different is the caſe with an iſland, if the ſituation in other reſpects, and the government be favourable to commerce, a great trade may be raiſed, and a navy formed and ſupported. When once this is effected, nothing is wanting but prudent management in the adminiſtration, to keep entirely clear of all the quarrels and wars that ſpread deſolation around her. If a potentate be ever ſo powerful by land, of what conſequence is it to the iſlanders? He muſt become ſo by ſea before they can have reaſon to fear his menaces. But this advantage can never attend any continental territory. No people, ſo connected with others, can have any tolerable ſecurity but in extreme formidable armies; and it would be a very eaſy matter to point out from hiſtory, how vain ſuch a dependence has proved, chiefly from the ſchemes of ambition, not defence, which ſuch armies occaſion. A nation not numerous enough to keep up powerful armies, poſſeſſes ſcarcely any ſecurity; whereas in an iſland five millions of people may be perfectly ſecure, though not twenty leagues diſtant from a potentate at the head of thirty millions of ſubjects. The continental nation is inſecure with all her ſoldiers, and ſhe cannot render herſelf otherwiſe with the moſt numerous fleets: whatever efforts ſhe makes, nothing can give her a quarter of the ſecurity which an inſular ſituation alone confers.

It may be aſked, where is the inſular ſecurity if a continental neighbour becomes ſuperior by ſea? In anſwer to this, it is only neceſſary to obſerve, that no earthly advantages yield abſolute ſafety, inſomuch that we cannot eſtimate any thing but by compariſon. In the caſe here ſtated, the ſuperiority of an iſland yet remains evident: ſuch more powerful potentate can-

not poſſibly carry on an offenſive war againſt his iſland neighbour, with the ſame eaſe as againſt a continental one; only ſmall armies can be tranſported by ſea; ſupporting them is infinitely more difficult; nor can the fury of war ſpread as it does on the continent. Add to this, every offenſive ſtroke depends on the winds, tides, and ſecurity from the adverſe fleets. But if we conſider that there are only two ſpecies of ſecurity, the one againſt invaſions by land, and the other againſt thoſe by ſea; and that a continental territory muſt be deficient in one, without reaping any benefit or ſafety from the other; and, on the contrary, that an iſland is neceſſarily and abſolutely ſecure againſt armies, with a probability of being the ſame againſt navies, the clear ſuperiority of the latter muſt be apparent at once. Powerful armies ſpring up like muſhrooms in every ſoil, but formidable fleets can only be built on the foundation of a vaſt trade, a fabric not commonly found. What a ſtriking advantage therefore is the inſular ſituation! Without even the defence of a navy, a neighbour's power by land cannot offend the happy inhabitants of an iſland; he muſt raiſe a commerce, command numerous ſailors, and build fleets of ſhips, before his army can be wafted to its ſhores. How different with a continental neighbour! A general receives his inſtructions, and in ſix hours the grim fiend of war ſpreads deſolation and terror in the country of the unfortunately ſituated enemy.

If we combine in one view the ſeveral circumſtances of ſituation, ſuch as ſecurity, national character, convenience of government, commerce, &c. we ſhall find that no people upon earth enjoys ſuch advantages as the Britiſh nation. Some may be ſuperior in one quarter of the globe, ſome in others: in reſpect of the chain of colonies Spain may be ſuperior; in the Eaſt Indies the Dutch; but every circumſtance

ſtance included, none will be found ſo truly complete *.

Another writer gives us ſome very judicious remarks on the ſame point. The inſular ſituation of Britain is a very great bleſſing, as for inſtance, it renders it much eaſier to keep out fatal contagious diſtempers, and likewiſe by the want of immediate communication with other nations, preſerves the national character with greater purity than moſt on the continent can; and I am perſuaded that this circumſtance is of very great importance to any people. All duties, cuſtoms, &c. are much eaſier levied on a ſea-coaſt than on an inland frontier. Another point is the number of ſea-ports an iſland muſt neceſſarily have, more than any country which is only in part ſurrounded by ſea, and conſequently more places from which trade may be carried on. Laſtly, an iſland has many advantages in an equal war (unequal power by ſea or land is to be excepted, as that does not depend on inſular ſituation) by which I mean one that is carried on in the modern manner, without an entire conqueſt being made by either party. On the continent ſmall detached parties and armies of a ſecond rate, by an agility of marching, carry terror and deſtruction into parts far diſtant from the operations of the grand army: all ſuch kind of deſtructive war could not be ſo frequent on an iſland; for all the uſual conſequences of the principal army would there, as well as elſewhere, attend one, yet ſecondary ones and very large detachments could not; becauſe there muſt be a greater uncertainty of recruiting from the other ſide of the water, and a very large expence of tranſports and time, which is ever ſo precious, would inevitably be waſted by delays owing to winds; add to all this, a very great difficulty of ſupporting an army after a defeat. On the continent,

* Poltical Eſſays, p. 3.

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a ſkilful general may make a fine retreat, and ſave a large part of his army, after a dreadful loſs in battle; but on an iſland the caſe is different, he may retreat to the ſea, and there be cut in pieces; for the winds, which may be againſt the tranſports, and an hundred accidents, may prevent their being at hand. In an extenſive war of this nature, the only method to remedy it in the leaſt would be by ſecuring a very ſtrong port for refuge; but this would coſt vaſt ſums of money, and take up a very large garriſon to defend; and the very circumſtance has already proved uſeleſs in the caſe of Marſhal D'Eſtrees and the duke of Cumberland.

Suppoſe likewiſe ſome very ſtrong fortreſſes were met with, and a ſiege of great force and large extent undertaken, convoys of great conſequence, and a multiplicity of other circumſtances, would all depend in a great meaſure on the winds. I know not one ſiege in hiſtory of great conſequence, which would not, in many caſes, have depended on a few days or a week's delay, of all convoys; but if a ſtorm was to meet the fleet after ſuch a delay, ſhatter it and drive it back again, all ſuch enterprizes muſt then miſcarry. I do not pretend to aſſert that the plan of extenſive and general campaigns might not be executed with ſucceſs; I would only diſplay ſome diſadvantages ſuch a war would lie under, that exceed thoſe on the continent: I know there are other advantages, but none that equal the contraries. Let us but conſider how ſpeedily, and with what regularity, French armies are ſupplied with every thing in Germany and Flanders, by means of navigable rivers behind them communicating with their own country.

It may be anſwered, perhaps, that the Engliſh have carried on ſucceſsful wars in Flanders and Germany under the many diſadvantages I have named, but the parallel is by no means fair; they always had either allies who owned the country behind them, or

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it belonged to the ſame ſovereign. The former was the caſe in 1702 and 1741, the latter in 1759; and this circumſtance gave much the ſame advantages as the French enjoyed, only at ten times the expence: however, ſupplies were regular, not from England, but from the back country. The deſcents of the Swedes in Germany, have always been made with theſe advantages. The Ruſſians in the late war drew the ſame from Poland and Pruſſia, which were in their hands. The Engliſh in Spain, in the ſucceſſion war, likewiſe enjoyed them by means of Portugal; and the archduke's party ſpread throughout all Spain. The deſcents of the French in Scotland are too inſignificant to quote, but all the advantages gained were by the natives, not the foreigners.

On the contrary, wherever theſe advantages, of immediate, exactly regular, and conſtant communication with home have been wanting, ill ſucceſs as preciſely has been the conſequence. The French, in all the innundations of men with which they have overflowed Italy, have been wanting in this point, owing to the ſtrength and almoſt impaſſableneſs of Savoy and Piedmont; and they have ever been driven out again with great loſs, merely on that account: this inſtance is remarkable, for the country joins even to their own, and they have frequently had a party in it, which proves that no favourable circumſtance will make amends for the want of this neceſſary one. The deſcents of the Engliſh on France and Spain (except the ſucceſſion war of the latter) conſidered in any light but mere burning parties, are always for this reaſon futile and trivial *.

Acres.

There are 50,000,000 of acres in Great Britain.

* Letters concerning the preſent State of the French Nation, p. 386.

Revenue

REVENUE.

Cuſtoms, exciſes, and duties,	7.750,000
Land and malt,	2,250,000
	£. 10,000,000

Ten millions divided among eight millions of people is 1 l. 5 s. each.

Divided among fifty millions of acres is four ſhillings each *.

POWER OF.

It is an aggregate of a vaſt number of particulars that forms the power of a country. Wealth, trade, manufactures, agriculture, population, much engagement in war, climate, government, ſituation, &c. all have a ſtrong effect in rendering kingdoms weak or powerful. Sometimes two or three ſo ſtrongly combine as to make up the want of many others. This general aggregate of fortunate circumſtances, is upon the whole greatly in favour of Britain. She has aroſe to a ſtate of great proſperity by ſilent ſlow degrees; her power is fixed in that proſperity, and the nature of it is ſuch as to bid fair to be of much longer duration than that either of France or Spain. But let it not be thought that I am hinting any thing at a probability of univerſal empire; her ſituation alone, were every other circumſtance in her favour, would prevent the execution of ſuch an idea, and this incapacity muſt have the beſt effects, in ſecuring to her that degree of power to which ſhe may naturally attain.

The union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland under one king, and the total reduction of Ireland, were the two events that laid the foundation of the Britiſh power. When arts and commerce animated the nothern parts of Europe in general, it was

* Letters concerning the preſent State of the French Nation, p. 429.

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ſcarcely poſſible from the ſituation of this iſland, but that it muſt become a great trading kingdom: this was a natural event almoſt dependant on ſituation, The fall of the Spaniſh monarchy laid the foundations of our naval power, which has never ceaſed to riſe from the days of Elizabeth to the preſent hour. The maritime power of England is not the wayward child of an abſolute monarch, who determines to be potent on every element; it is the ſlow natural growth of more than two hundred years, which has ſtood many a fierce attack, and weathered many a ſtorm.

Another circumſtance which has continued and increaſed every other advantage, is the peculiar felicity of our conſtitution: all the great kingdoms of Europe have loſt their liberty except England; liberty has carried her trade, agriculture, manufactures, wealth, and navy, to a pitch to which they would never otherwiſe have attained.

Another point of vaſt importance is the uncommon union of trade and agriculture; the amazing commerce of England is equal to that of the moſt famous ſtates who have been great by commerce alone; and this vaſt trade has been carried on, not by a knot of unhappy men like the Dutch, who were forced to be traders or nothing, but by a great landed nation, among whom trade enlivened agriculture, and agriculture yielded immenſe products for trade.

Laſtly, the period of theſe various circumſtances coming in full play, was at a time when the rival nation had paſſed the meridian of her grandeur, ſo that England was the riſing, France the ſetting ſun. No other power aroſe to diſpute the palm of equality; ſhe had not then a France ſucceeding Spain in great power to draw her off, and waſte her ſtrength with freſh conteſts.

All theſe are reaſons for conjecturing that this country will in her turn be the firſt power of the chriſtian world; ſhe cannot aim at univerſal monarchy, for

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reaſons which I have already mentioned, and that moderation will ſave her from efforts beyond her ſtrength, and from alliances among the reſt of Europe to pull down her power. It will therefore be more ſtable, and far more proſperous than that either of France or Spain *.

Succession *to the* Crown *of.*

A politician who would acquaint himſelf with the affairs of Europe, and underſtand the nature of the Britiſh conſtitution, ſhould conſider well the ſtate of ſucceſſion to the Britiſh crown, after the death of queen Anne, and contemplate the number of perſons ſet aſide by parliament in order to come to the houſe of Hanover: they are thus ſet forth by an author who publiſhed in 1707.

The next heir to the Engliſh crown, after the iſſue of queen Anne and prince George of Denmark was the princeſs Henrietta, ſiſter to the late kings of England Charles and James II.

She was born the 16th of June, 1644, at Exeter, during the heat of the civil wars; after the ſurrender of Exeter conveyed to Oxford, and thence, in 1646, to London, whence, with her governeſs the lady Dalkeith, ſhe eſcaped into France, was there educated as became her high birth and quality; but being left wholly to the care and maintenance of the queen her mother, at Paris, embraced the Romiſh religion.

At the age of 16 years ſhe came with the queen-mother into England, and ſix months after, returning into France, was married to the only brother of the French king, the illuſtrious prince Philip, then duke of Anjou, till the death of his uncle, and afterwards duke of Orleans.

* Letters concerning the Preſent State of England, p. 47.

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This princeſs left iſſue two daughters, Maria and Anna Maria. She was uſually ſtiled Madame only, as being the firſt lady in France. She died ſuddenly in June 1670

The elder ſiſter was called Mademoiſelle only, or *ſans queüe*, ἀγαπ' ἐξοχὴν, becauſe ſhe is the firſt gentlewoman of France: ſhe was in December 1670, married to Charles II. king of Spain, and died without iſſue.

The younger ſiſter was called Mademoiſelle de Valois, married to Victor Amadeus Francis II. the preſent duke of Savoy, who has iſſue by her Maria Adelheida, born 1685, and married to the duke of Burgundy; Maria Louiſa, born 1688, and married to the duke of Anjou; Victor Amadeus Philipus Joſephus, born 1698, prince of Piedmont; and Charles Emanuel Victor, duke of Aoſt.

The next heir to the crown of England was the princeſs CharlotteElizabeth, only daughter of Charles Ludowick, prince Palatine of the Rhine, born in May 1652, and afterwards married to the late duke of Orleans, only brother to the French king now reigning, by whom her royal highneſs had Philip duke of Chartreſs born 1675, now duke of Orleans, and Elizabeth Charlotte preſent dutcheſs of Lorrain; the children of the former now living are Mademoiſelle de Valois, born 1693; Mademoiſelle D'Orleans, born 1675; and Mademoiſelle de Chartres, born 1678; of the latter only one daughter, born 1701.

The next heirs to the crown of England, after the iſſue of the dutcheſs of Orleans, were three French ladies, Anna Benedicta, Henrietta Philipina, and Louiſa Maria, daughters of prince Edward lately deceaſed, who was a younger ſon of the queen of Bohemia, whoſe widow, the princeſs dowager, mother to the ſaid three ladies, is ſiſter to the late queen of Poland, daughter and co-heir to the laſt duke of Nevers in France; amongſt which three daughters, there

there was a revenue of about twelve thouſand pounds ſterling, a year.

The eldeſt of theſe was married to Henry Julius de Bourbon, then duke of Enghien, now prince of Condè, by whom ſhe had iſſue, 1. Lewis duke of Bourbon, born 1668, who, by Louiſa Frances de Bourbon, mademoiſelle de Nantes, a natural daughter of the French king, hath had theſe children, mademoiſelle de Bourbon, born 1690; Louis Henry, duke of Enghien, born 1692; LouiſaElizabeth mademoiſelle de Charolas, born 1693; Louiſa Anne mademoiſelle de Sens, born 1695; and mademoiſelle de Clermont, born 1697. 2. Maria Thereſa mademoiſelle de Bourbon, born 1666, and married to Francis Louis preſent prince of Conti, whoſe children are mademoiſelle de Conti, born 1689; the prince de la Roche, born 1694; the Count de la Marche, born 1695; and mademoiſelle d'Alais, born 1697. 3. Anne Louiſa de Bourbon mademoiſelle d'Enghien, born 1675. 4. Louiſa Benedicta de Bourbon, mademoiſelle de Condè, born 1676, and married to the duke du Mayne; by whom ſhe has mademoiſelle d'Aumale, born 1697, and Lewis Auguſtus prince of Dombes, born 1700. 5. Mary Anne de Bourbon mademoiſelle de Montmorency, born 1678.

The ſecond married John Frederick, late duke of Hanover, whoſe children were, 1. Charlotte Felicitas, born 1671, and married to the duke of Modena, who has a ſon and a daughter. 2. Anne, who died unmarried, 1685. 3. Wilhelmina Amelia, born 1673, and married to the preſent king of the Romans, to whom ſhe has borne three children, whereof one only ſurvives, Maria Amelia Anna Thereſa Sophia, born 1701.

The third was married to Charles Theodore Otho, prince of Salm, who has Lewis Otho, born 1674, and two daughters.

Theſe are the reſpective princes and princeſſes that are related to the crown of England before the houſe.

houſe of Hanover, which has the preference by our conſtitution; the number of which is from Henrietta Maria about five living; from Charles Lewis ſeven; from prince Edward twenty-three, beſides thoſe children that the duke of Modena and Mantua may have, in all very near forty, incapacitated by being papiſts; not to mention the pretenſions of James prince of Wales ſo called, who ſtands attainted by parliament, and his ſiſter, of whom no cognizance is, or ought to be taken.

Laſt of all, therefore, but firſt on the Engliſh account, is the princeſs Sophia, youngeſt daughter to the queen of Bohemia, grand-daughter to James I. niece to Charles I. ſiſter to our famous prince Rupert, couſin german to Charles and James II. with their ſiſter Mary, the princeſs of Orange, and neareſt relation now living of the proteſtant religion, to her preſent majeſty; ſhe was born at the Hague, the 13th of October, 1630, and in 1658, wedded to Erneſt Auguſtus duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, biſhop of Oſnaburg, late duke of Hanover, and prince elector of Brunſwick, by whom ſhe had ſix ſons and one daughter *.

The iſſue of the above forty incapacitated perſons is now become much more numerous; and will remain a laſting monument to the kings of this realm, of the PARLIAMENTARY TITLE by which they hold their crown.

C.

CABINET. In the government of England the privy council is endowed with ſundry powers and prerogatives by acts of parliament, and the great objects of the adminiſtration are there debated; but out of the members there have been uſually a ſelect party choſen by the miniſter, called the cabi-

* Chamberlayne's Preſent State of England, 1707. p. 106.

cabinet council, before whom all great affairs are laid, and who are let into ſecrets, which never come to the knowledge of the privy council. The plan is juſt and warrantable, for no affair is well debated or conſidered by the people, who are any ways concerned in the execution, if they be numerous. All the oſtenſible miniſters are of the privy council, beſides many others. Opinions, ſuppoſing freedom of debate, would be contrary, and nothing effective could be reſolved on, but by mere voting, which is a random way of diſcovering the beſt meaſure. A ſelect cabinet prevents this evil.

CANADA, the well known country ceded at the laſt peace by France to Great Britain. The great object in making this acquiſition, was ſecurity to our own colonies from the incroachments and attacks of the French; for as to the value of the country, north of latitude 42 degrees, it has none in any reſpect of colonization, only for the wealth of the furs, which amount to but an inconſiderable ſum.

The adminiſtration of affairs ſince the peace, have not conducted this colony upon any advantageous ideas. Certainly it ought to have been abandoned immediately, all but a fortified poſt for the protection of traders, and all the inhabitants tranſported by perſuaſion, if poſſible, to the ſouth of the lakes, the farther to the ſouth the better; then the people would produce commodities valuable to England, whereas at preſent their labour is to us loſt; and another inconvenience of the greateſt magnitude, is having this vaſt country to defend in caſe of a new war. If it was left a deſert like Cape Breton, the enemy would be unable to do us the leaſt miſchief; but while it is peopled, and partly cultivated, the caſe would be different. It is greatly to be wiſhed that the meaſure here ſketched, may be executed, by giving every encouragement to all who tranſport themſelves from theſe ſnowy deſerts to the ſouth, for it is only in territories far to the ſouth, that thoſe valuable com-

commodities are raiſed, which render colonies of ſo much importance.

CAROLINA, one of the moſt valuable of the Britiſh colonies in America. The importance of it will be beſt ſeen from the produce

The export from Charles-town, from November 1747, to November 1748, amounted to 161,361 l.

Of which ſkins were $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole.

Rice $1\frac{7}{8}\frac{3}{4}$ ditto.

Indigo $\frac{1}{5}$ ditto.

Naval ſtores $\frac{1}{16}$ ditto.

Lumber $\frac{1}{48}$ ditto.

Corn $\frac{1}{37}$ ditto.

Corn, proviſions and live ſtock $\frac{1}{11}$ ditto.

Silk $\frac{1}{704}$ ditto.

Sundry articles $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto.

In 1761 the total export was 311,561 l.

In 1767 the two Carolinas exported 792,000 l.

In 1757 the export of ſtaples of South Carolina was 336,000. In that year the number of whites and blacks in the province was 60,000. This export of ſtaples amount to 5 l. 10 s. per head; and this for the whole country, the export of one port being only reckoned, the whole amount in corn, &c. and ſtaple, is 5 l. 12 s. 6 d *. From whence it appears, that the inhabitants of this colony make but 2 s. 6 d. a head in exported commodities that are not ſtaples; which ſhews in the cleareſt manner their vaſt importance.

CHINA. The accounts we have had of this empire are probably full of errors; or elſe affairs in it ſuffer greater changes than ſeveral writers will allow. If we believe the old accounts, we are to look for nothing but wiſdom, order, power and regularity, thro' the whole dominions; but later advices give us a different picture. Mr. Walter's recital of the character of the Chineſe, and their government, ſeems very

* Political Eſſays, p. 313.

well founded on the facts he relates, and of which he was an eye-witneſs. That the Chineſe, ſays he, are an ingenious and induſtrious people is ſufficiently evinced from the great number of curious manufactures which are eſtabliſhed amongſt them, and which are egarly ſought for by the moſt diſtant nations; but though ſkill in the handicraft arts ſeems to be the moſt valuable qualification of this people, yet their talents therein are but of a ſecond-rate kind; for they are much out-done by the Japaneſe in thoſe manufactures which are common to both countries; and they are in numerous inſtances incapable of rivalling the mechanic dexterity of the Europeans. Indeed, their principal excellency ſeems to be imitation; and they accordingly labour under that poverty of genius which conſtantly attends all ſervile imitators. This is moſt conſpicuous in works that require great truth and accuracy, as in clocks, watches, fire-arms, &c. for in all theſe, though they can copy the different parts, and can form ſome reſemblance of the whole, yet they never could arrive at ſuch a juſtneſs in their fabrick as was neceſſary to produce the deſired effect. If we paſs from thoſe employed in manufactures to artiſts of a ſuperior claſs, as painters, ſtatuaries, &c. in theſe matters they ſeem to be ſtill more defective: their painters, though very numerous, and in great eſteem, rarely ſucceed in the drawing or colouring of human figures, or in the grouping of large compoſitions; and though in flowers and birds their performances are much more admired, yet even in theſe ſome part of the merit is rather to be imputed to the native brightneſs and excellency of the colours, than to the ſkill of the painter; ſince it is very unuſual to ſee the light and ſhade juſtly and naturally handled, or to find that eaſe and grace in the drawing which are to be met with in the works of European artiſts.

On the Chineſe government I muſt obſerve, that the favourable accounts often given of the prudent regu-

regulations for the adminiſtration of their domeſtic affairs, are ſufficiently confuted by their tranſactions with Mr. Anſon; as we have ſeen that their magiſtrates are corrupt, their people thieviſh, their tribunals venal, and abounding with artifice. Nor is the conſtitution of the empire or the general orders of the ſtate leſs liable to exception; ſince that form of government, which does not, in the firſt place, provide for the ſecurity of the public againſt the enterprizes of foreign powers, is certainly a moſt defective inſtitution; and yet this populous, this rich, and extenſive country, ſo pompouſly celebrated for its refined wiſdom and policy, was conquered about an age ſince by an handful of Tartars; and even now, through the cowardice of the inhabitants, and the want of proper military regulations, it continues expoſed not only to the attempts of any potent ſtate, but to the ravages of every petty invader. I have already obſerved on occaſion of the commodore's diſputes with the Chineſe, that the Centurion alone was an over-match for all the naval power of that empire *.

CIRCULATION. This is perhaps one of the moſt expreſſive terms in any language, and is therefore eaſily underſtood. It repreſents the ſucceſſive tranſition of money, or transferable commmodities from hand to hand, and their return as it were in a circle to the point from which they ſet out.

When on dealing the cards every one puts in a fiſh into the ſtake, according to the old Engliſh faſhion, a very few are ſufficient for the circulation of the game; but when you play the aces, the conſolation and the multiplication of beaſts, according to the French cuſtom, you muſt have a box with contracts, fiſhes, and counters; ſo reducing all to the loweſt denomination, every player has occaſion for above five hundred marks. It is therefore plain, that the number

* Anſon's Voyage, p. 362.

of marks muſt be in proportion to the circulation of the game; but at play, as in a ſtate, circumſtances, under this circulation, are very irregular. Fortune may run ſo equally among the players, during a conſiderable time, that none of them may have occaſion to pay away above the value of a hundred counters; and while this equality continues, there is not found the ſmalleſt interruption in the circulation: but let one of the players have a run of luck, you will ſoon ſee three of the boxes empty, and all the circulating marks heaped up before the winner. Fortune at quadrille forms ſtagnations of the circulating equivalent, as induſtry and frugality form them in a ſtate. At this period of the game muſt not the players ſtop, or muſt not they fall upon a way of drawing back their marks into circulation? If they borrow back from the winner, this repreſents loan; if they buy back their marks with money from their purſes, it repreſents what I call throwing ſolid property into circulation.

From this familiar example, we may judge how neceſſary it is, that the circulating fund be conſtantly kept up to the proportion of the occaſions for it. It is impoſſible to determine the proportion of coin neceſſary for carrying on the circulation of a country, eſpecially of one where neither loan, or paper credit, that is the melting down of ſolid property, are familiarly known. Here is the reaſon; the ſolution of the queſtion does not depend upon the quantity of coin alone, but alſo upon the diſpoſition of thoſe who are the poſſeſſors of it; and as theſe are conſtantly changing, the queſtion thereby becomes inſoluble.

It is therefore the buſineſs of a ſtateſman, who intends to promote circulation, to be upon his guard againſt every cauſe of ſtagnation; and when he has it not in his power to remove theſe political obſtructions, as I may call them, by drawing the coin of the country out of its repoſitories, he ought (in proportion as the other political intereſts of his peo-

ple

ple are found to require it) to facilitate the introduction of ſymbolical money to ſupply its place.

Suppoſe a country where there is a million of pieces of gold employed neceſſarily in carrying on the ordinary circulation, a million of pieces of the ſame value is locked up, becauſe the proprietors have no deſire to ſpend them. Suppoſe the revenue of the ſolid property of the country to be worth alſo a million a year, and that if the fund itſelf could be ſold, it might be worth twenty millions of the ſame ſpecie. Suppoſe no ſuch thing as credit, or paper money to be known, and that every man who inclines to make any conſumption, muſt be provided previouſly with a part of the circulating million, before he can ſatisfy his inclination.

Under theſe circumſtances the ſtateſman reſolves to eſtabliſh induſtry; and finding that by his people's taking a taſte for a greater conſumption, the million, which was formerly ſufficient for carrying on circulation, is no longer ſo, he propoſes to thoſe who have the other million locked up, to borrow it from them at five per cent. and the better to engage them to comply with his propoſal, he offers to impoſe duties upon the whole of the inhabitants, to the annual amount of fifty thouſand pieces of gold, to be paid annually to the creditors, in return for their treaſure. If this ſcheme be adopted, he may lend out his million in ſmall ſums, to every one who inclines to borrow, upon good ſecurity; or by premiums, and other encouragements given to his infant manufactures, he may throw it into the hands of the public, that is, into circulation. Here is one method of increaſing the quantity of a circulating fund, when an augmentation upon the conſumption of the produce of induſtry comes to demand it *.

* Stewart's Political Oeconomy, Vol. i. p. 374.

COAL TRADE. The coal-trade of England that is, carrying coals from Newcaſtle, Sunderland, Blyth, and other adjacent places in the North, as alſo from the Firth of Edinburgh in Scotland, and other places threreabouts, to the city of London, and to the port-towns on the coaſt all the way, as well on this ſide of Newcaſtle north, as up the channel as high as Portſmouth weſt, is a prodigious article, and employs abundance of ſhipping and ſeamen, inſomuch that, in a time of urgent neceſſity, the colliery navigation alone has been able to ſupply the government with a body of ſeamen for the royal navy, able to man a conſiderable fleet at a very ſhort warning, and that without difficulty, when no other branch of trade would do the like.

Likewiſe the Whitehaven collieries in Cumberland, belonging to Sir James Lowther, bart. furniſh ſeveral counties in Ireland with coal, and conſtantly employ upwards of two thouſand ſeamen, which alſo is a noble nurſery for the royal navy of this kingdom. The port of Swanzey in Wales ſupplies the coaſt of Devonſhire, and other counties thereabouts *.

Soon after the Reſtoration, the ſhipping trading for coals to Newcaſtle alone amounted to 80,000 tons †, which at a medium of 150 tons, make 533 ſail. About the year 1750, the coal trade alone employed 1500 ſail of ſhips from 100 to 200 tons. Another writer ‡ calculates the coal trade of Newcaſtle to employ 1000 ſhips, 10000 ſeamen and bargemen, and the number conſtantly under ground digging to be 30,000. According to this account, the total is probably more than 1500 ſail §.

COFFEE, a berry brought originally from Arabia Felix. It yields a very conſiderable revenue to

* Poſtlethwayte, *Coal.*
† Petty's Political Arithmetic, p. 170.
‡ Poſtlethwayte, *Middleſex.*
§ Political Eſſays, p. 496,

the

the grand ſeignior. In Great Britain and Ireland, there are annually expended one hundred tons, and in England alone ſeventy; which, at three hundred pounds per ton, a moderate price, amounts to twenty-one thouſand pounds ſterling *.

COIN. The augmentation and diminution of coin in denomination, has, in France, given riſe to ſuch changes as are thus explained. About the end of the time fixed for diminutions, the money in the king's coffers is locked up, till it can be iſſued in new augmented coin. Several money-proprietors not only keep up their ſums at this time, but alſo long after the augmentation, rather than exchange them for new money at twenty per cent. loſs in the weight. Great ſums have been exported in the payment of the balance of trade, which muſt, in ſuch an operation, turn againſt France, and conſequently the ſcarcity of money in France, at the cloſe of the diminution, and beginning of the augmentation, is ſo great, that barter and trade are in perfect convulſions.

It is not ſurpriſing that in theſe circumſtances all commodities grow vaſtly cheap in France: they have foreign commodities for the conſumption of ſeveral years; and their own commodities unexported by foreigners, and lying on their hands, are in great plenty. On the other hand, money, the lighter ſince the augmentation, is exceſſively ſcarce, and the king iſſues it out of his mint for the payment of his troops, officers, &c. barely for their ſuſtenance: ſo that the increaſe of the money in denomination does not anſwer, even nominally, the diminution of its quantity by exportation and hoarding. Now the foreigners, finding the French commodities cheaper by fifty or ſixty per cent. than before, will buy large quantities of them;

* Rolt's Dictionary of Trade and Commerce.

while

while the French, on the other hand, want to buy nothing from the foreigners; and ſo the balance of trade, which was againſt France during the diminutions, turns in its favour about the time of the augmentations.

And this turn it ſhould ſeem ought to bring back into France the money exported; but it is to be conſidered, that the French bought the foreign goods at high prices, and now ſell their goods at very low ones, and ſo upon the whole of theſe operations the French are great loſers. On the contrary, the French undertakers bought foreign commodities for the conſumption of ſeveral years; and the foreigners, who fear to loſe by the diminutions in their own country, do not go ſo far, and their undertakers and merchants only buy reaſonable large quantities, without over-trading themſelves by borrowing of money: and thus it happens, the balance of trade againſt France is ſtrong and violent at the time of the diminutions; but the balance which turns in favour of France at the time of the augmentations is ſlower and more regular: though the new ſpecies after the augmentation is current at 20 per cent. above the price of the old ſpecie and bullion at the mints in France; yet the foreigners will ſend bullion to be recoined in the French mints at 20 per cent. loſs in the weight, becauſe they have no new coin to ſend, and that they find the French commodities from fifty to ſixty per cent. cheaper than before, out of which they can afford to loſe the 20 per cent. tax at the mint.

It has been obſerved that the Hollanders, who, in the time of the diminutions, ſold the French merchants tea and ſpices, have had the ſame commodities ſent back to them after the augmentation, for about two-thirds of the original coſt in Holland, and that the tax of the mint has come out of the ſaid two-thirds ſent in ſpecie from Paris to Holland.

From

From what has been ſaid, it ſeems pretty apparent, that the king may levy a tax of 20 per per cent. or more, upon all the money carried to the mint; and that a great part is carried in at that diſadvantage, when the balance of trade is in favour of France. That if an augmentation on recoining is made after diminutions, the balance of trade will be naturally in favour of France; and that the ſaid tax at the mint is levied at the expence of the French ſubjects only, and not of foreigners, who find the cheapneſs of French commodities an advantage not only proportionable to the ſaid tax, but conſiderably exceeding it; and experience ſhews that foreigners, who travel in France, find their account better to ſpend their money there while the tax of 20 per cent. is levied at the mint, than when the old and new coin are at the ſame price, and the balance of trade equal, or in favour of France; for in this caſe all the money in France enters into circulation, and enhances the price of commodities.

Nor does the tax at the mint only fall upon the French ſubjects, but it hurts them in the balance of trade when the new coin is counterfeited in foreign parts, and ſent into France; for in this caſe the foreigners get 20 per cent. from the French ſubjects for nothing, and yet have their commodities at low and cheap prices; and ſo much as they get by falſifying the French new coin, diminiſhes the ſum due to the French nation in the balance of trade.

However, the miſchief of this reſtraint on trade, as we have obſerved, falls wholly upon France; and it muſt ſurprize every one, who maturely conſiders the matter, to hear that even a miniſter of the finances in France ſhould alledge, that this tax was a mighty advantage France maintained againſt foreigners, who were forced to pay one hundred and twenty ounces for every one hundred ounces they owed in France, and ſuppoſe it might be continued

as

as long as the French government thought fit. But if the inductions we have made were not ſufficient to prove the miſtake of theſe notions, it would be ſufficient to prove the error in the firſt of them from this ſingle fact, that France is always lower and in greater diſtreſs, at the times it makes that ſeeming advantage by foreign trade, than at any other time, all other circumſtances being equal.

Now it ſeems to be a matter of ſurprize, that whereas the augmentations and diminutions in France, were ſo conſtantly practiſed for above thirty years, and that France loſt conſiderably in all theſe operations, as has been explained; and that many other ways of levying money for the king, would be leſs prejudicial to the ſubject; I ſay, it ſeems ſurprizing that the effects of theſe operations have not proved more fatal to France than they have appeared to be.

But it is to be obſerved, that bankruptcies in France, occaſioned by the diminutions, whereby foreigners have often loſt greatly, have frequently ſaved France very large ſums: nothing clears a balance due to foreign nations faſter, than the bankruptcies of the undertakers and dealers concerned in it. In the year 1715, there were nineteen foreign dealers in twenty broke in France. Of twenty-ſeven dealers for foreign parts in the little city of Rochelle, twenty-four were broke in that year, and of about two hundred bankers at Paris, not above three or four ſtood it. After the South-ſea frenzy in England, the bankruptcies ſaved the nation above four millions of ounces, which otherwiſe muſt have been made good to foreigners.

But this is a ſorry way of clearing the balance of trade; and it is apparent upon the whole that the diminutions and augmentations in France, not only contribute to the impoveriſhing the kingdom, but keep it commonly under great uneaſineſſes, difficulties, and diſtractions.

Proportion between Gold and Silver.

The proportion of the value between gold and silver has varied in different ages and countries according to the quantity of these metals.

Before the discovery of the plate mines in the West Indies, an ounce of gold in Europe was equal in value to ten ounces of silver; but since silver has been brought in great quantities out of New Spain, it was found in the altercations at market in Spain, that an ounce of gold was equal in value to sixteen ounces of silver, and the value of gold and silver was fixed by law in that proportion; and the same rule was kept to nearly in the other countries of Europe, allowing some small differences for the conveniencies of barter, and the management of some directors of mints. The East India trade brought in gradually some little variation in this particular, by exporting silver, and bringing home gold, and since that the discovery of the Brazil gold mines has influenced it still more.

In Japan the proportion of gold to silver is 1 to 8, in China 1 to 10, in the Mogul empire 1 to 12, and so westward as you come nearer to the silver mines, as 1 to 13 to 14, &c. But as the quantities of gold began to increase in Europe beyond the proportion of those of silver, this last metal grew again in request, and sold in the altercations at an agio or profit against gold (upon the foot of the par of 1 to 16) of 2, 3, 5, 8 per cent. The French in order to have a larger quantity of silver in circulation, as it is fitter in barter than gold, fixed the proportion of their gold coin to their silver in 1700, as 1 to 15, but the English let the old par remain, and the coins to find their own proportion in the altercations at market.

The proportion between gold and silver is $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, so that gold is higher, and silver lower rated in England than in any other nation in Europe *.

* Postlethwayte, Art. *Coin.*

COL-

COLBERT, a famous French miniſter in the reign of Lewis XIV. thus characterized by M. de Boulainvilliers; "Colbert, to whom Lewis confided the care of augmenting his power, by an augmentation of commerce, raiſed his edifice before he had laid the foundation. He ſaw the grandeur of the monarchy through the medium of manufactures, whereas he ought to have viewed them thro' the medium of primary materials. He fixed his attention too much on the arts, but never conſidered agriculture enough. If I may be allowed the expreſſion, he was always fabricating but never creating. His genius poſſeſſed every part of the detail, but he had nothing of the great legiſlator. He was ſunk in minutiæ, and never roſe above their ſphere. The manufacturer abſorbed the miniſter, the fabricator carried away the ſtateſman: urged by reputation, he would finiſh his work at a time when his real glory was to commence. In ſpite of his high reputation (a reputation acquired by all who make great changes in a government) he projected none of thoſe great ſtrokes of ſtate, or, as it is better expreſſed in the French, thoſe *coups d'etat*, which decide the fortune of a nation: in his ſyſtem he moved in a beaten route, but never ſtruck out a path of his own *."

COLONIES. There is no object more important to the politician, the ſtateſman, the merchant, and the public in general, than the preſent ſtate of the Britiſh colonies; for which reaſon, we ſhall be attentive in ſelecting ſuch accounts as ſeem moſt ſatisfactory.

EXTENT.

As to the extent of our American colonies, ſays one author, accounts I have met with are various, but it will not be difficult to come near the truth.

* Les Interets de la France mal entendas, tom. 2. p. 265.

Nova-

Nova-Scotia, New-England, Penſylvania, and New-Jerſey, bounding them by the river St. Lawrence and the two lakes, form a pretty equal oblong ſquare of nine hundred miles long, and near four hundred broad, on a medium this makes

	ſqu. miles.
	360,000

Maryland, Virginia, and the country through which the Ohio runs, extending northwards to the ſouthern banks of lake Erie, and in a level line from thence to the junction of the Miſſiſſippi and Moingona, form another oblong tract, very equal, ſeven hundred miles long, and three hundred and fifty broad, that is

	245,000

The two Carolinas, Georgia, and all the ſouthern tract to the level of the gulph of Mexico, form a ſquare four hundred and fifty miles north to ſouth; and upon a medium, ſix hundred and fifty miles eaſt to weſt, that is

	292,500

Florida, three hundred and fifty by one hundred miles, that is

	35,000

The north-weſt inhabitable coaſt of the river St Lawrence, I call but twenty miles broad; it is in length from Montreal to Taduſac three hundred miles; this is

	6,000

The iſland which is incloſed by the lakes Huron, Ontario, and Erie; and the river Utaevas, is an indented oblong, three hundred and ſixty miles long by about one hundred and fifty broad, on a medium: this country is ſaid to be moſt of it fertile, this is

	54,000

The peninſula between the lakes Illinois and Huron, and the ſtrait between the latter and Erie, down to the former line from the ſouth of Erie, to the junction of the Miſſiſſippi and Moingona, is an oval,

three

three hundred miles long by one hundred broad, this is	30,000
The country bounded by the lakes Illinois and Superior, the Miſſiſſippi, and the above mentioned line, is an oblong, 360 miles long by 280 broad,	100,800
Total	1,122,800

For the ſake of a compariſon, I add the Europea countries, which equal the above.

Great Britain and Ireland	105,634
Holland	9,540
Flanders	12,968
France	138,837
Spain and Portugal	178,094
Italy and Mediterranean iſlands	75,576
Swiſſerland	12,884
Germany	181,631
Poland	222,000
Turkey in Europe, including Little and Crim Tartary	212,240
Denmark	14,418
	1,163,822

Thoſe who will take the trouble of conſulting the beſt authors, who have given an account of North-America, will find, that theſe tracts of land are capable of producing all the neceſſaries of life, moſt of them plenty of food, and ſome raiment.

I have not joined the amount of our Weſt Indian iſlands to that of the continent, becauſe the value of the land bears no proportion in each; the following table will ſhew their extent pretty accurately.

ISLANDS.

ISLANDS.

	Square miles
Jamaica	6,000
Barbadoes	140
Antigua	100
St. Chriſtophers	80
Nevis	70
Montſerrat	65
Tobago	108
Granada	280
Dominica	280
Barbuda	200
Anguilla	200
	7,525

CLIMATE.

The climate of our American ſettlements varies from the exceſs of cold to extreme heat; and as that of Britain is temperate, the extremes are ſo far the moſt beneficial, as moſt requiring her manufactures. But then it is to be remembered, that thoſe of our colonies whoſe climate moſt reſembles our own, yet vary conſiderably from it; hence a greater degree of benefit reſults from them, than if the temperature was exactly the ſame in both.

When we ſpeak in this manner of our American climates, we muſt not be guided by their latitude, but productions: for inſtance, thoſe which are too cold to produce wheat; thoſe which are fertile in producing it; and thoſe which, however well they might produce bread corn, yet produce but little, on account of more valuable articles. The firſt contain New Britain, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Canada, and New England. The ſecond New York, New Jerſey, and Penſylvania. The laſt, all

from Maryland to the moſt ſoutherly of the Weſt Indian iſlands.

The difference between the climates of North America and Europe in point of latitude is very remarkable; for latitude 45, which in Europe is that in the middle of France, temperate and warm enough for the production of ſuch excellent wines, is in America, that of the middle of Nova Scotia, a region of froſt and almoſt perpetual ſnow; a contraſt very ſtriking, but reſolvable into the vaſt regions of ice and ſnow to the north as far as the 82d degree, and probably much farther: whereas the European and Aſiatic continents terminate about latitude 70, and perhaps in no ſmall degree to the height of the land. Theſe exceſſive colds, acting during a large part of the year, and the ſoutherly latitude in a hot ſun the reſt of it, cauſes ſuch violent variations, that many productions which one would imagine would flouriſh there, by no means do. Even wheat, that hardy and almoſt univerſal grower, thrives not in New England. The preceding ſcale of climates, according to productions, points out thoſe colonies at once, which are the moſt advantageous to Britain, and likewiſe the rule to judge of the climate of ſettlements in general. The latitude muſt not be our guide, but the products of the ſoil *.

POPULATION.

The writer quoted in the preceding paſſage ſays, Upon the whole I cannot conceive the number in America to amount to more than 2,200,000: we ſhall not be far from the truth, if we ſuppoſe the total on the continent and iſlands to be about two millions and an half.

Land being plenty in America, and ſo cheap as that a labouring man, that underſtands huſbandry,

* Political Eſſays, p. 227.

can

can in a ſhort time ſave money enough to purchaſe a piece of new land ſufficient for a plantation, whereon he may ſubſiſt a family. Such are not afraid to marry; for if they even look far enough forward, to conſider how their children, when grown up, are to be provided for, they ſee that more land is to be had at rates equally eaſy, all their circumſtances conſidered.

Hence marriages in America are more general, and more generally early than in Europe. And if it is reckoned there, that there is but one marriage per ann. among 100 perſons, perhaps we may here reckon two; and if in Europe they have but four births to a marriage (many of their marriages being late) we may here reckon eight; of which, if one half grow up, and our marriages are made, reckoning one with another at 20 years of age, our people muſt at leaſt be doubled every twenty years.

There are ſuppoſed to benow upwards of 1,000,000 Engliſh ſouls in North America, tho' it is thought ſcarcely eighty thouſand have been brought over ſea, and yet perhaps there is not one the fewer in Britain, but rather many more on account of the employment the colonies afford to manufactures at home. This million doubling ſuppoſe but once in twenty-five years, will in another century be more than the people of England, and the greateſt number of Engliſhmen will be on this ſide the water *.

It appeared before, ſays another writer, that we poſſeſs land on the continent, that will admit of population, above 1,122,800 ſquare miles; and as there are 640 acres in a ſquare mile, in North America we have 718,592,000 acres. England is peopled nearly in proportion of one perſon to 5 acres; our colonies, ſo populous, would contain 143,718,400 peo-

* The Intereſt of Great Britain conſidered, with regard to her Colonies, p. 56. By Dr. Franklin.

ple. And if they contain at preſent 2,000,000, and double their numbers every 25 years, the periods of their number will be as follows:

In 1792, they will be - -	4,000,000
1817 - - -	8,000,000
1842 - - -	16,000,000
1867, a century hence -	32,000,000
1892 - - -	64,000,000
1917 - - -	128,000,000
1942 - - -	256,000,000

There are ſeveral obſtacles however to their increaſing in future periods at the rate they do at preſent. A large proportion of them will be fixed at ſo great a diſtance from the freſh land, (the only cauſe of their quick increaſe) that the difficulty of getting at it will prove an obſtruction to population. Great cities will be raiſed among them; vaſt luxury and debauchery will reign in theſe, the influence of which will extend to the extremities of the empire; and theſe cauſes, which certainly will operate, muſt render their increaſe ſlower in a diſtant period than it is at preſent.——And as to the number of people the land can maintain, a deduction muſt be made from the above 43,718,400 upon account of the barren land being in a greater proportion there than in England. But let me remark, that this circumſtance muſt not be carried to the extravagant length, which the author of the Preſent State has calculated it, who every where reduces their good land to the ſize of a handkerchief. Some of their mountains are reputed (I ſay reputed, ſince we have no proof of it) to be barren, and perhaps they have more of them in proportion than Britain, but this likewiſe is unknown. It is certain they have an infinity of plains, all the ſouthern parts from the ſea to the tops of the Allegany and Apalachean mountains, is one gentle riſe, and ſo regular that thoſe can

can ſcarcely be called mountains. The tract of the Ohio, which is prodigiouſly extenſive, is one continued meadow: that of the Miſſiſſippi, though a high ſhore and dry, is a fertile plain.——If we allow ſeven acres a head, we ſhall make a ſufficient allowance for unprofitable mountains. Their number of inhabitants will then be more than 102,000,000.

As to population in our inſular colonies, or thoſe of the Weſt Indies, increaſe is there quite another thing, they conſume people inſtead of increaſing them: a contraſt very ſtriking in reſpect of negroes. The ſugar iſlands require a vaſt annual ſupply, whereas in the healthy climate of Virginia and Maryland, they very nearly keep up their number by procreation. The following table will ſhew the numbers in our iſlands.

Islands.	Whites.	Blacks.
Jamaica	25,000	90,000
Barbadoes	25,000	80,000
St. Chriſtophers	7000	20,000
Antigua	7000	30,000
Nevis	5000	12,000
Montſerrat	5000	12,000
	74,000	244,000
Bermudas	5000	
	79,000 *	

Products.

We ſhall begin with the ſugar Iſlands.

Jamaica	£. 1,246,868
Barbadoes	537,982

* Political Eſſays, p. 235.

Antigua	306,433
St. Chriſtopher's	198,250
Nevis	175,125
Montſerrat	68,937
* *l.*	2,533,595
Medium of that and other accounts	2,702,060
The two Carolina's in ſtaples to Europe in 1767	722,700
Tobacco colonies	357,228
Northern, ditto	98,562
Total exported ſtaples ‖	3,880,550

It appears upon the whole, that the ſtaple productions of our colonies decreaſe in value in proportion to their diſtance from the ſun. In the Weſt Indies, which are the hotteſt of all, they make to the amount of *l.* 8 : 12 : 1 per head. In the ſouthern continental ones, to the amount of *l.* 5 : 10 : 0 In the central ones, to the amount of 9*s.* 6*d.* ½ In the northern ſettlements to that of 2*s.* 6*d.* This ſcale ſurely ſuggeſts a moſt important leſſon!—to void colonizing in northern latitudes! Eighteen pounds, the export of Nova Scotia, after ſeveral years ſettlement, after the utmoſt attention of the government, after a million ſterling of the public money being expended upon it, is an example, one would think, ſufficient to deter the boldeſt projector. But if our colonies to the north produce ſuch trifling ſtaples, thoſe to the ſouth, on the contrary, are immenſely valuable—indeed of ſuch infinite importance to this nation, that general expreſſions of the benefit of our ſettlements, ſhould

* Political Eſſays, p. 299. ‖ Ib. p. 418, 329.

never

never be indulged; let proviſoes ever come in of—THOSE TO THE SOUTH.

The ſame author calculates the total benefit reſulting in wealth to Britain from all her colonies, at *l.* 5,755,722, and draws theſe general concluſions.

I. That the ſugar colonies add to the wealth of this nation annually, *l.* 3,852,962, or, *l.* 12:5:1 per head, for their inhabitants; employ 5,600 of our ſeamen, or 1 to every 55 of their people; and increaſe the population of the kingdom by a variety of means.†

II. That the ſouthern continental colonies increaſe the wealth of this nation annually *l.* 972,700, or 7*l.* 10*s.* per head, for their inhabitants; employ 3,700 of our ſeamen, or 1 to every 34 of their people; and increaſe the population of the kingdom by various methods.

III. That the tobacco colonies add to the wealth of this nation annually *l.* 831,498, or, *l.* 1:2:0½. per head, for their inhabitants; employ 3000 of our ſeamen, or 1 to every 350 of their people; and increaſe the population of the kingdom by divers means.

IV. That the northern colonies, and ſuch parts of the tobacco ones as are not employed on the culture of their ſtaples, conſume manufactures not Britiſh, to the amount of *l.* 10,166,044.—that the northern colonies are highly prejudicial to the wealth and power of Britain, in beating her out of a part of her European trade, and much of her American commerce and fiſhery; in depriving her of the employments of 30,000 ſeamen, and *l.* 2,500,000 in freights; and, laſtly, that they are injurious to her population.

† Theſe valuations per head, include duties and freight, which the former ones did not.

Another writer, ſpeaking of the general importance of colonies, ſays, "What was the condition of this country before we had any plantations?" In regard to this, I think, I may ſafely affirm, that it was very low and deſpicable. In the victorious reign of Edward III. there was a balance of trade ſtruck, and delivered into the exchequer, by which it appeared, that the exports exceeded by 255,214*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* which for that time was a great deal. At the time queen Elizabeth entered upon the government, the cuſtoms produced *l.* 36,000 a year; at the reſtoration they were let to farm at *l.* 400,000, and produced conſiderably above double that ſum before the revolution. The people of London before we had any plantations, and but very little trade, were computed at about 100,000; at the death of queen Elizabeth, they were increaſed to 150,000, and are now about ſix times that number. In thoſe days we had not only our naval ſtores, but our ſhips from our neighbours. Germany furniſhed us with all things made of metal, even to nails; wine, paper, linen, and a thouſand other things, came from France. Portugal furniſhed us with ſugars; all the produce of America was poured into us from Spain; and the Venetians and Genoeſe retailed to us the commodities of the Eaſt-Indies. In ſhort, the legal intereſt of money was 12 per cent, and the common price of our lands ten or twelve years purchaſe. We may add, that our manufactures were few, and thoſe but indifferent: the number of Engliſh merchants very ſmall, and our ſhipping much inferior to what now belongs to the northern colonies. Theſe are plain and certain facts: but as ſoon as we began to extend our trade, and to make ſettlements abroad, the face of our affairs changed; the inhabitants of the city of London were doubled by the end of the laſt period, and were again doubled before

fore the end of this; our ſhipping increaſed in a ſtill greater proportion; we coined within twenty years after the queen's death, about five millions at the Tower; in twenty years after that ſeven, and in the next twenty years eight; which are indubitable proofs that we had gained a prodigious balance of trade in our favour.

The next point I ſhall conſider is, what our condition has been ſince; and with reſpect to this, I may boldly affirm, that it has altered for the better, almoſt to a degree beyond credibility or computation. Our manufactures are prodigiouſly increaſed, chiefly by the demand for them in the plantations, where they at leaſt take off one half, and furniſh us with many valuable commodities for exportation. Inſtead of taking the quantities we were wont to do of goods from other nations, we actually export thoſe very goods, and ſometimes to the very ſame nations; ſugar, rum, and tobacco, are the ſources of private wealth and public revenue, which would have been ſo many drains that would have beggared us, had they not been raiſed in our plantations. It is no longer in the power of the Ruſſians to make us pay what they pleaſe for flax and hemp. The Swedes cannot compel us to pay their own price, and that too in ready money, for pitch and tar; nor would it be in their power to diſtreſs us, ſhould they attempt it, by raiſing the price of copper and iron. Logwood is ſunk 75 per cent. indigo, and other dying materials, are in our power, and at moderate prices. In ſhort, the advantages are infinite that redound to us from our American empire, where we have at leaſt a million of Britiſh ſubjects, and between 1500 and 2000 ſail of ſhips conſtantly employed: ſuch have been the fruits, ſuch is the condition of our plantations, and let any man doubt of the benefits reſulting from them to this nation if he can: or, when he reflects on the numbers

numbers maintained here by their induſtry, and even by their luxury, let him deny or envy their wealth if it is in his power. †

COMMERCE. The greatneſs of a ſtate, and the happineſs of its ſubjects, however independent they may be ſuppoſed in ſome reſpects, are commonly allowed to be inſeparable with regard to commerce; and as private men receive greater ſecurity in the poſſeſſion of their trade and riches, from the power of the public, ſo the public becomes powerful in proportion to the riches and extenſive commerce of private men. This maxim is true in general, though I cannot forbear thinking, that it may poſſibly admit of ſome exceptions, and that we often eſtabliſh it with too little reſerve and limitation. There may be ſome circumſtances where the commerce, and riches, and luxury of individuals, inſtead of adding ſtrength to the public, will ſerve only to thin its armies and diminiſh its authority among the neighbouring nations.

Foreign commerce augments the power of the ſtate as well as the riches and happineſs of the ſubjects. It increaſes the ſtock of labour in the nation, and the ſovereign may convert what ſhare of it he finds neceſſary to the ſervice of the public. Foreign trade by its imports furniſhes materials for new manufactures; and by its exports it produces labour in particular commodities, which could not be conſumed at home. In ſhort, a kingdom that has a large import and export muſt abound more with induſtry, and that employed upon delicacies and luxuries, than a kingdom which reſts contented with its native commodities. It is therefore more powerful as well as richer and happier. The individuals reap the benefit of theſe commodities; ſo far as they gratify the ſenſes and appetites, and the

† Harris's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 298.

public

public is alſo a gainer, while a greater ſtock of labour is by this means ſtored up againſt any public exigency; that is, a greater number of laborious men are maintained who may be diverted to the public ſervice, without robbing any one of the neceſſaries, or even the chief conveniencies of life.

If we conſult hiſtory we ſhall find that in moſt nations foreign trade has preceded any refinement in home manufactures, and given birth to domeſtic luxury. The temptation is ſtronger to make uſe of foreign commodities which are ready for uſe, and which are entirely new to us, than to make improvements on any domeſtic commodity, which always advance by ſlow degrees, and never affect us by their novelty; the profit is alſo very great in exporting what is ſuperfluous at home, and what bears no price, to foreign nations, whoſe ſoil or climate is not favourabe to that commodity. Thus men become acquainted with the pleaſures of luxury and the profits of commerce; and their delicacy and induſtry being once awakened, carry them to farther improvements in every branch of domeſtic as well as foreign trade. And this perhaps is the chief advantage which ariſes from a commerce with ſtrangers. It rouſes men from their indolence, and preſenting the gayer and more opulent part of the nation with objects of luxury which they never dreamed of, raiſes in them a deſire of a more ſplendid way of life than what their anceſtors enjoyed; and, at the ſame time, the few merchants who poſſeſs the ſecret of this importation and exportation, make exorbitant profits; and becoming rivals in wealth to the antient nobility, tempt other adventurers to become their rivals in commerce. Imitation ſoon diffuſes all thoſe arts; while domeſtic manufacturers emulate the foreign in their improvements, and work upon every home commodity

commodity to the utmoſt perfection of which it is ſuſceptible. Their own ſteel and iron in ſuch laborious hands become equal to the gold and rubies of the Indies.

When the affairs of the ſociety are once brought to this ſituation, a nation may loſe moſt of its foreign trade, and yet continue a great and powerful people. If ſtrangers will not take any particular commodity of ours, we muſt ceaſe to labour in it. The ſame hands will turn themſelves towards ſome refinement in other commodities which may be wanted at home. And there muſt always be materials for them to work upon; till every perſon in the ſtate, who poſſeſſes riches, enjoys as great plenty of home commodities, and thoſe in as great perfecton, as he deſires; which can never poſſibly happen. China is repreſented as one of the moſt flouriſhing empires in the world: though it has very little commerce beyond its own territories. †

Trade is ſo far here from being inconſiſtent with the character of a gentleman, that trade in England makes gentlemen, and has peopled this nation with nobles and gentlemen too; for after a generation or two, the children of traders, or at leaſt their grandchildren come to be as good gentlemen, ſtateſmen, parliament men, privy counſellors, judges, biſhops, and noblemen as thoſe of the higheſt birth and the moſt antient families, and nothing too high for them: thus the late earl of Haverſham was originally a merchant, the preſent earl of Tilney's grandfather the ſame, as well as the great grand father of the preſent duke of Bedford, and numberleſs others; and why ſhould not commerce as well as law and divinity, or the ſword, be the road to the higheſt honours? Is the grandeur of this nation owing to wars? This has not ſo much as helped

† Hume's Eſſays, Vol. I. p. 283.

it

it: what conqueſts have we made abroad? what new kingdoms are added to the Britiſh empire? We have reduced no neighbouring nations, nor extended the poſſeſſion of our monarchs into the ſtates of others; we are butted and bounded as we were in queen Elizabeth's time; the Dutch, the French, the Flemings, are in view of us, as they were then: we have ſubjected no new provinces or people to our government; with few exceptions, we are almoſt for dominions where king Edward I. left us; nay, we have loſt all the dominions which our antient kings for ſome hundreds of years held in France; ſuch as the rich and powerful provinces of Normandy, Poictou, Gaſcony, Britany, and Aquitain; and inſtead of being enriched by war and victory, we have, on the contrary, been torn in pieces by civil wars and rebellions, as well in Ireland as in England, and that ſeveral times to the ruin of the richeſt families, and the ſlaughter of our nobility and gentry; nay, to the deſtruction even of monarchy itſelf, and this many years at a time, as in the long bloody wars between the houſes of Lancaſter and York.

Theſe things prove abundantly that the preſent greatneſs of the Britiſh nation is not owing to war and conqueſt; and that it can be owing to the profeſſion of law or divinity no one will ſay: what can it be owing to then, but to our trade and commerce?

The ſplendor, the power, and dignity of Great Britain being thus raiſed by trade, it muſt be unaccountable folly and infatuation to leſſen that one article in our eſteem, which is the only fountain from whence we all, take us as a nation, are raiſed, and by which we are enriched and maintained. The holy ſcriptures, ſpeaking of the riches and glory of the city of Tyre, which at that time was the emporium of the world for foreign commerce, from whence all the ſilks, and fine manufactures of

Perſia

Perſia and India, were exported all over the weſtern world, ſay, that her merchants were princes, and her traffickers the honourable of the earth; and in another place, by thy traffick thou haſt increaſed thy riches. And certain it is, that nothing but our traffick has increaſed our riches, and given that illuſtrious ſplendor to our Britiſh nobility and gentry.

Preſent ſtate of BRITISH COMMERCE.

BALTIC

With the Baltic balance againſt England £.734,000

HOLLAND, FLANDERS, and GERMANY.

Balance in favour of Britain - £. 650,000

FRANCE

Balance againſt Britain - £. 500,000

PORTUGAL

Balance in fav. of Britain - £. 1,750,000

ITALY

Balance againſt Britain - £. 200,000

LEVANT

Balance in fav. of Britain - £. 600,000

IRELAND

Balance in favour of Britain - £. 700,000

COLONIES

Balance in favour of Britain £. 670,838

EAST-INDIES

Balance againſt Britain - £. 900,000

Balance in favour of Britain - £. 4,370,838
————againſt ditto. - £. 2,334,000

Britain's general gain - £. 2,036,838

Of which by Ireland and colonies - £. 1,370,838

The following is a general ſtate of the Britiſh commerce publiſhed in 1771. It did not come out with any name or authority annexed, that what the truth is exactly, we know not; but it has the appearance of authenticity in it.

	IMPORTS.						EXPORTS.					
	Eſtimate of the firſt coſt.			Balance againſt England.			Eſtimate of the firſt coſt.			Balance in favour of England.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Africa	35,738	9	2	-		-	464,878	14	2	429,140	5	0
Canaries	3,158	10	7	-		-	31,867	10	2	28,708	19	7
Denmark and Norway	85,027	9	6	-		-	141,534	5	5	56,506	15	11
Eaſt country	224,499	8	1	-		-	290,331	6	9	65,831	18	8
Eaſt India	1,182,844	18	6	17,244	6	2	1,165,600	12	4	-	-	-
Flanders	145,772	2	3	-		-	546,777	16	10	401,005	14	7
France	95,430	19	11			-	208,765	14	8	113,334	14	9
Germany	614,410	1	2	-		-	2,264,315	3	9	1,649,905	2	7
Greenland	7,936	17	0	7,908	10	5	28	6	7	-	-	-
Holland	371,730	2	2	-		-	2,040,467	9	9	1,668,737	7	7
Ireland	777,412	19	8	-		-	1,634,382	1	8	856,969	2	0
Italy	815,327	15	5	60,881	11	3	754,446	4	2	-	-	
Madeira	5,792	9	3	-		-	40,152	12	6	34,360	3	3

	IMPORTS. Estimate of the first cost.			Balance against England.			EXPORTS. Estimate of the first cost.			Balance in favour of England.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Portugal	312,974	8	5	-	-		1,239,998	6	7	927,023	18	2
Ruſſia	920,293	12	3	852,341	3	9	67,952	8	6	-	-	
Spain	503,489	6	4	-	-		1,318,345	4	11	814,855	18	7
Streights	32,271	4	11	-	-		120,574	9	7	88,303	4	8
Sweden	253,280	1	11	224,928	17	4	28,351	4	7	-	-	
Turkey	191,565	16	0	121,556	19	1	70,008	16	11	-	-	
Venice	54,992	10	5	45,039	18	7	9,952	11	10	-	-	
Britiſh and Iriſh linen by bounty	-	-		-	-		10,367	6	0	10,367	6	0
Totals	6,639,949	2	11	1,329,901	6	7	12,449,098	7	8	7,145,050	11	4
Exports exceed imports	-	-		-	-		-	-		5,815,149	4	9
Alderney	173	10	1	-	-		1,491	3	2	1,317	13	1
Belle-iſle	0	4	6	0	4	6	-	-		-	-	
Guernſey	27,075	15	11	-	-		34,064	19	4	6,989	3	5
Jerſey	18,282	0	5	-	-		23,089	0	1	4,807	0	8
Totals	45,531	10	11	0	4	6	58,645	3	7	13,113	17	2
Exports exceed the imports	-	-		-	-		-	-		13,113	12	8

PLANTATIONS.											
Antigua	307,392	6	8	244,255	15	10	63,136	10	10	-	-
Barbadoes	300,213	17	3	118,503	6	0	181,710	11	3	-	-
Bermudas	165	11	1	-			10,534	3	7	10,368	12 6
Canada	44,669	9	5	-			251,385	12	6	206,716	3 1
Carolina	341,727	12	7	35,919	11	1	405,808	1	6	-	
Dominica	46,211	17	9	29,796	5	3	16,415	12	6	-	
Florida	294	3	4	-	-		15,004	15	7	14,710	12 3
Georgia	31,325	9	4	12,987	6	5	18,338	2	11	-	-
Grenades	206,889	13	6	140,954	9	9	65,935	3	9	-	-
Guadeloupe	33,551	17	0	33,551	17	0	-			-	-
Havanah	5,735	8	0	5,379	8	0	-			-	-
Hudsons-Bay	9,272	9	2	5,375	18	0	3,892	11	2	-	-
Jamaica	1,076,155	1	9	619,626	19	10	456,528	1	11	-	-
Martinico	3,169	6	8	3,169	6	8	-			-	-
Montserrat	82,966	15	0	75,434	6	3	7,532	8	9	-	-
Nevis	60,652	11	2	52,717	14	9	7,934	16	5	-	-
New-England	88,157	1	9	-	-		459,765	0	11	371,607	19 2
Newfoundland	30,354	2	4	-	-		72,588	6	3	42,234	3 11
New-Providence	4,436	6	7	1,627	19	10	2,808	6	9	-	-
New-York	53,697	10	4			-	515,410	12	1	461,719	1 9
Nova-Scotia	32	19	3			-	15,434	17	0	15,401	17 6

	IMPORTS. Eſtimate of the firſt coſt.			Balance againſt England.			EXPORTS. Eſtimate of the firſt coſt.			Balance in favour of England.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Penſylvania	36,258	18	1	-	-	-	435,191	14	0	398,932	15	11
St. Chriſtopher's	283,842	4	1	185,520	15	11	98,321	8	2	-	-	-
Santa Cruz	8,681	12	7	2,055	15	9	6,625	16	10	-	-	-
St. Euſtatia	917	0	10	917	0	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
St. John's	80	17	2	80	17	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
St. Vincent's	-	-	-	-	-	-	977	15	2	977	15	2
Tobago	-	-	-	-	-	-	349	8	5	349	8	5
Tortola	41,549	1	11	39,064	0	11	2,485	1	0	-	-	-
Virginia and Maryland	559,408	15	1	44,216	4	7	515,192	10	6	-	-	-
Spaniſh Weſt-Indies	9,398	11	3	9,398	11	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Britiſh and Iriſh linen by bounty	-			-			188,060	8	7	188,060	8	7
Totals	3,667,208	10	11	1,660,913	11	1	3,717,367	18	4	1,711,072	18	6
Exports excéed the imports	-	-		-	-		-			40,159	7	5
Prize goods	44,361	5	2	8,578	6	0	35,782	19	2	-	-	
Grand totals	10,391,050	9	11	2,999,393	8	2	16,266,804	8	9	8,869,237	7	10
Exports exceed the imports	-	-		-	-		-	-		5,869,843	18	10
Foreign coin and bullion exported				-			-		-	310,024	19	6
Exports exceed the imports with foreign coin and bullion							-	-		6,179,868	18	4

COMPANIES (Excluſive) may very juſtly be called the bane of commerce, wealth, and power. They are contrary to all the principles of trade, and have been condemned by the beſt writers in every nation, even among thoſe that have employed them with apparent ſucceſs, the Engliſh, Dutch, and French. We have a Hudſon's-bay company; an African company, in which however, any merchant may be admitted; a South-ſea company; a Levant company; and an Eaſt-India company. As to the South-ſea company, it is one but in name, that of Hudſon's-bay is the moſt prepoſterous monopoly that ever diſgraced a free country: many and unanſwerable are the arguments which have been uſed againſt it, but none that with the leaſt degree of ſucceſs attempted to defend it. The trade might in every reſpect as well be open as ſhut up: this mockery of the trade of England, called a company, ſend out but *l.* 4000 a year in commodities, although for a moderate profit five times that ſum might be exported. They were inſtituted for facilitating the diſcovery of a North-weſt paſſage, inſtead of which they never failed to take every poſſible meaſure to prevent the ſucceſs of that diſcovery. Much is it to be wiſhed that our legiſlature may never more renew a charter that is a ſtanding diſgrace to the kingdom.

The Eaſt-India trade is the only one for which companies have with any ſhew of argument been thought neceſſary; upon this head we ſhall quote the opinions of ſome authors of credit.

Sir Joſiah Child writes as follows on companies in general. It has for many years been a moot caſe, whether any incorporating of merchants be for the public good or not.

For my own part, I am of opinion,

1. That for countries with which his majeſty has no alliance nor can have any, by reaſon of their diſ-

tance, or barbarity, or non-communication with the princes of Chriſtendom, &c. where there is a neceſſity of maintaining forces and forts (ſuch as Eaſt India and Guinea) companies of merchants are abſolutely neceſſary.

2. It ſeems evident to me that the greateſt part of thoſe two trades ought for public good, to be managed by joint ſtock.

3. It is queſtionable to me whether any other company of merchants are for the public good or hurt.

4. I conclude however, that all reſtrictions of trade are nought, and conſequently that no company whatſoever, whether they trade in a joint ſtock, or under regulation, can be for public good, except it may be eaſy for all, or any of his majeſty's ſubjects, to be admitted into all or any of the ſaid companies, at any time, for a very inconſiderable fine; and that if the fine exceed 20 l. including all charges of admiſſion, it is too much, and that for theſe reaſons.

1. Becauſe the Dutch, who thrive beſt by trade, and have the ſureſt rules to thrive by, admit not only any of their own people, but even Jews, and all kinds of aliens, to be free of any of their ſocieties of merchants, or any of their cities or towns corporate.

2. Nothing in the world can enable us to cope with the Dutch in any trade but increaſe of hands and ſtock, which a general admiſſion will do; many hands and much ſtock being as neceſſary to the proſperity of any trade, as men and money to warfare.

3. There is no pretence of any good to the nation by companies, but only order and regulation of trade; and if that be preſerved (which the admiſſion of all that will come in and ſubmit to the regulation, will not prejudice) all the good to the nation that can be hoped for by companies is obtained.

4 The Eaſt land beſides our native commodities, conſume great quantities of Italian, Spaniſh, Portugal and French commodities, viz. oil, wine, fruit, ſugar,

ſugar, ſuccads, ſhoonack, &c. Now in regard our Eaſt country merchants in England are few, compared with the Dutch, and intend principally that one trade out and home, and conſequently are not ſo converſant in the aforeſaid commodities, nor forward to adventure upon them, and ſeeing that by the companies charter, our Italian, Spaniſh, Portugal, and French merchants, who underſtand thoſe commodities perfectly well, are excluded thoſe trades, or at leaſt if the company will give them leave to ſend out thoſe goods, are not permitted to bring in the returns; it follows that the Dutch muſt ſupply Denmark, Sweden, and all parts of the Baltick, with moſt of thoſe commodities, and ſo it is in fact.

5. The Dutch, tho' they have no Eaſt land companies, yet have ten times the trade to the Eaſt land parts as we; and, for Italy, Spain, and Portugal, where we have no companies, we have yet left full as much, if not more, trade than the Dutch. And for Ruſſia and Greenland, where we have companies (and I think eſtabliſhed by act or acts of parliament) our trade is in effect wholly loſt, while the Dutch have without companies, increaſed theirs to above forty times the bulk of what the reſidue of ours now is.

From whence may be inferred,

1. That reſtrained limited companies are not alone ſufficient to preſerve and increaſe a trade.

2. That limited companies, tho' eſtabliſhed by act of parliament may loſe a trade.

3. That trade may be carried on to any part of Chriſtendom, and increaſed without companies.

4. That we have declined more, at leaſt have increaſed leſs in thoſe trades limited to companies, than in others where all his majeſty's ſubjects have had equal freedom to trade *.

* Child on Trade 12mo. p. 110.

The objections which Child ſtates againſt European companies are undoubtedly juſt, but we muſt here obſerve, that his exceptions in favour of the Eaſt India and Guinea trades are equally falſe; the latter has been proved by the ſureſt of all rules, experience: for ſince the African company has been laid aſide, that commerce has flouriſhed far more than ever it did before, under protection of the caſtles and forts maintained there by the government; ſo that one great pillar of the arguments in favour of companies where forts are neceſſary, is utterly deſtroyed, not by counter arguments, but actual experience. This is equally applicable to the Eaſt Indies; forts, &c. might there be eſtabliſhed under the immediate power of the crown, as well as by that of a company, and why ſhould not a commander of his majeſty's forces, take as good military care of the great provinces of Bengal as one of the company? He moſt undoubtedly could not fleece the natives more, or carry his power with a higher hand. But experience in this caſe, as well as that of Africa, is directly in our favour: the Portugueſe who had a greater empire in Aſia than even the Dutch, and carried on a trade there which enriched the whole kingdom, never had a company, the forts and garriſons were all under the immediate authority of the viceroy of the Indies, who was appointed by the king. Hence we find by experience, that Sir Joſiah Child was wrong in both theſe inſtances: we ſhall now proceed to quote the opinion of other writers.

The editor of Harris's Voyages expreſſes himſelf thus:

The ſecond thing I promiſed was to ſhew the expediency of ſupporting the Eaſt India company, and of leaving that trade in the channel it is now in. In the firſt place I muſt premiſe, that I am abſolutely diſintereſted in this matter, and ſo far from having any direction, or inſtructions from that, I have not

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the leaſt connection with the company or any of its directors; and am likewiſe ſo far from being a friend to excluſive companies in general, that I think this the only one that is, or can be beneficial to this kingdom, for which I ſhall very freely aſſign my reaſons. The firſt is, that the trade to the Eaſt Indies is of ſuch a nature, that it is of the utmoſt conſequence to the nation to have, from time to time, diſtinct accounts of its ſtate and condition, which could not be ſo well, or at leaſt not ſo eaſily received, if it was not managed by a company: as, on the other hand, the neceſſary inſtructions and regulations, could not with ſuch facility be any other way conveyed. What ſeems to ſtrengthen and enforce this opinion, is the conduct of all other nations, who whenever they have adventured to interfere in this trade, have conſtantly put it under the management of a company; and to ſay the truth, whoever ſhall conſider how things are to be diſtributed in the Indies, and what a connection there is between the commerce of the ſeveral countries included within the extent of the Eaſt India company's charter, will very eaſily diſcern, that if the whole were not under the management and direction of a body of men, converſant therein; and not only capable of giving directions, but properly impowered to ſee thoſe directions carried into execution, it would be impoſſible that this commerce ſhould thrive, or even that it ſhould ſubſiſt.

One may in like manner conceive, that if the poſſeſſion of the colonies and forts in the Indies were in the crown, and the management of the trade only in the hands of the company, it could not but be attended with numberleſs inconveniencies, as indeed experience ſhewed in the reign of king Charles II. when Bombay came to the crown, by his marriage with the infanta of Portugal, and therefore both that iſland, and the iſland of St. Helena, have been granted to the Eaſt India company for the ſake of publick conveniency. We may likewiſe diſcover from the diſor-

ders of the East India company's affairs in that reign, and in the reign of king James, that it is very detrimental to this commerce, and to the benefits resulting from thence to the nation, that the company ſhould be immediately under the power of the crown, ſo as to ſtand indebted for all encouragement, and to have no other recourſe in caſe of grievances, than what they can draw from royal power; for this, on the one hand, renders trade precarious, and on the other intereſts a great body of people in the ſupport of the prerogative, which might be of dangerous conſequence.

But at the ſame time that from all theſe concurring, and, as I conceive, unanſwerable reaſons, I am perſuaded that this trade is beſt carried on by an incorporated body; I am very far from contending, that they ſhould act without controul, or that they ſhould be in all reſpects ſubject to whatever regulations the legiſlature ſhall, from time to time, think fit to enact, for rendering the commerce they carry on more and more beneficial to this nation. It is from a due ſenſe of this, that I could heartily wiſh propoſals might be made to the board of trade, for opening a direct and immediate correſpondence either by the Cape of Good Hope, or the ſtreights of Magellan, with the ſouthern continent; and in caſe any proſpect of that ſort ſhould be laid before them, that was thought practicable, I ſhould eſteem it highly reaſonable, that upon their recommendation, the East India company ſhould be obliged to make ſuch an attempt; or if they refuſed, that any private perſons might be allowed to undertake it, and have proper aſſurances and encouragements given them by the public. For it is, and will be ever my ſentiment, that this and all other companies, are but ſo many corporations, endowed with powers in truſt for the public, for which they are and muſt be accountable to the public, and alſo be ſubject to ſuch altera-

alterations, extentions, and reſtrictions, as may render them moſt ſerviceable to the public *.

There is much candour in theſe paſſages; but the main point they aim to prove, is not aſcertained with any degree of clearneſs. The following extract from another writer, will ſet the whole in a fair light; it contains almoſt every thing that can be ſaid on the ſubject.

The two principal arguments hitherto made uſe of in favour of an excluſive charter are, firſt, the practice of other European nations trading to India; if a company is diſadvantageous, why do others continue ſo firm in that method of carrying on the trade? ſecondly, the great variety of empires, kingdoms, ſtates, and even barbarous nations, with whom that trade is carried on, and even in whoſe dominions it is neceſſary to have ſettlements, gives riſe to ſuch a neceſſary attention to a multiplicity of intereſts, that nothing but a company can be ſuppoſed able to manage them with the requiſite ſkill and aſſiduity: on the contrary, private competitions would ruin the national intereſts in thoſe parts.

In moſt political controverſies, all opinions have ſome peculiar *forte* on which they are built, and which carries much appearance of plauſibility; but in the point in queſtion, even this appearance is wanting. The arguments urged in favour of the monopoly are not only deficient in facts for their foundation, but they have not even the ſemblance of conviction. What deduction can reaſonably be made, from the practice of other powers? If the general conduct is bad, is that a reaſon for our perſiſting in it? Muſt we continue in a wrong tract becauſe our neighbours do the ſame? It is not however clear that the caſes are parallel. I never yet found it proved that the Dutch Eaſt India trade for inſtance, and our

* Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 922.

own,

own, were upon the ſame footing; it may be prudent for them to continue their company, but it does not therefore follow that it is the ſame with us: but in fact there is a material difference, which may very probably at leaſt occaſion their encouragement of a company. That company is not a parallel monopoly with the Britiſh, but it poſſeſſes a perfect monopoly in an article from which it excludes the whole world, viz. the ſpice trade. By diſſolving their company they may think, and perhaps with juſtice, that their excluſive poſſeſſion of that valuable branch might be endangered. The grand and watchful caution of the government in preventing foreigners from interfering, might not equal that of an avaricious company, whoſe vigilance is ſo extreme; beſides, who would have the care of the cultivation of the ſpices? If the iſlands were turned into colonies, properly ſo called, the trade would be loſt at once, but at all events the danger would be great. Beſides which circumſtance, it may perhaps bear a queſtion whether the Dutch require an extenſion of the ſale of their own manufactures equally with us?

It is from hence evident enough, that concluſions from the conduct of the Dutch are by no means juſt when applied to this nation, ſince there is ſo eſſential a difference between the circumſtances of their Eaſt India trade and ours. And if we view thoſe of other powers we ſhall not find any material reaſons for adopting their ideas of ſuch monopolies. That of France has been almoſt from its eſtabliſhment a mere creature of the French miniſtry; never flouriſhing but when loaded with favours, gifts, and exemptions; but dropping into a mere name upon the leaſt inattention of the miniſters. And what is very obſervable is, that the only really profitable commerce carried on with the Eaſt Indies by the French was, that of private merchants under licence, at a time when

when the company was unable to fit out a ſhip* : they in proportion to their ſtock, made ſix times the profit that ever the company had done, notwithſtanding their being ſhackled by many articles of the licences.

Thus an attention to the practice of foreigners in their commerce with the Indies, is very far from proving that the trade can be carried on by a company alone; for the few inſtances of private commerce prove the very contrary; and no one can with any certainty pronounce, that the ſame experiment made with the trade of a whole nation would not be attended with the ſame ſucceſs.

It ſhould not be forgot that the Portugueſe carried their Indian commerce to an height unequalled but by the Dutch, without even the idea of a company.

The laying aſide the African company, is proof ſufficient that we may deviate, however, from the practice of other nations, without fearing any ill conſequences. We have an open trade to Africa, of a much more beneficial nature than when we had a regular company, and yet other nations continue their African companies, which ſhews that this kind of reaſoning is not always juſt.

The diverſity of Oriental intereſts is in the next place quoted, and the difficulty of private merchants conducting ſo extenſive a trade, at ſuch a vaſt diſtance. But in what facts theſe ideas are founded I know not. It ſhould be remembered that moſt of thoſe politicians who have projected an open trade, and written the warmeſt in its favour, allow the neceſſity of keeping up forts and military eſtabliſhments in the Indies; the expence to be ſhared by the private traders, either by a tax, or in payment for the licences to trade: but if the nation was to be at the expence, as well as of thoſe on the coaſt of Africa, there can be little doubt but the public would in very nu-

* Modern Univerſal Hiſtory. Vol. 2. p. 92. 95.

merous

merous ways, be repaid much more than the amount.

The point in queſtion therefore is the mere article of trading. Whether private merchants, with their own ſupercargoes on board their ſhips, are not as capable of conducting the Indian commerce, as any of the company's ſervants can be? Thoſe who imagine the nations of the Eaſt to be babarous in matters of commerce, know but little of its commercial hiſtory. They are as active, as experienced, and as univerſal merchants in that quarter of the world, as any of ours can be in Europe. Trade is perfectly well underſtood throughout the Eaſt Indies. Indeed, it is the ſole buſineſs that takes up all their attention: a private Britiſh ſhip can reſort to no port in India, but ſhe will meet with traders ready for exchange, who will diſpatch her as quick as in any port of Europe.

In reſpect to any connection with miniſters or princes in that part of the world, or the avoiding quarrels, &c. it ſhould be aſked, in what manner do the companies manage theſe matters? By addreſs; by circumſpection; by an attentive prudence and moderation? Nothing further from the caſe: by the ſword. Art and addreſs are uſed at the firſt eſtabliſhment of a company; but, when once it is fixed, what do they become but conquerors, and tyrants? Did not the Portugueſe, the Dutch, and does not our own company now, prove the truth of this aſſertion? Is it not abſolute ridicule to pretend that private merchants will offend the Oriental potentates, and involve themſelves in quarrels, when the company is perpetually at war with one or other of them, and cutting the throats of nabobs, ſtirring up inſurrections, and kindling a flame through the empire of one of the firſt potentates of the Indies? And all for the ſake of plundering firſt one party and then another? Is it not a farce to ſuppoſe that private

merchants

merchants would give greater offence than theſe warlike and conquering monopoliſts?

Trade and the ſword ought not to be managed by the ſame people. Barter and exchange is the buſineſs of merchants, not fighting of battles, and dethroning of princes. If the trade was laidopen, private traders would reap all the commercial advantages of powerful fortreſſes and garriſons; that is, ſecurity and reputation, and would be kept clear of the miſchiefs of them. Their attention would be engroſſed by their proper buſineſs; it would never be their intereſt to involve themſelves in any quarrels; and if they were oppreſſed, it would, I ſhould apprehend, be as much in the power of the king of Great Britain to revenge their ills as in that of a company. The force and power in the Indies would be the ſame, only I ſhould ſuppoſe the reputation of one ſomething greater than that of the other. Was ever the ſervant of a company more reſpected or dreaded in thoſe parts, than the king of Portugal's viceroy, when their ſettlements flouriſhed?

It ſhould not be forgot that the empire of the ſea is a real and ſubſtantial poſſeſſion in the hands of Britain, and that that dominion is acknowledged in the Indies as much as it is in Europe. A few fortreſſes with that ſuperiority are better than many without it. The injuries done to merchants are eaſier remedied by a few ſhips of war than by many armies. Not, however, that there is any probability of a private Indiaman meeting with any croſſes from which the company's ſervants are exempt; for it is difficult preciſely to aſſert how much the latter depend for ſecurity upon the ſame guard, which would be enjoyed by the former, the Britiſh ſquadron; for it is very obſervable, that the government at preſent is at the expence in peace and war of a fleet in thoſe ſeas, and ſome troops in the garriſons.

If fighting is ſo very profitable a buſineſs in the Indies, and if it is in the power of the company to make nabobs

nabobs at their pleaſure, and ſeize upon the provinces that yield a revenue of 14,000,000 per ann*, I ſee no extreme good reaſons that ſuch profitable conqueſts ſhould be limited to the benefit of the company alone. The king's governor of Bengal would be as able to conduct ſuch matters as any of the company's ſervants; and if it was found expedient to make the Indies pay all the publick expences of the trade; ſuch as armies, fleets, garriſons, &c. at the ſame time that the whole kingdom enjoyed the trade, it would moſt undoubtedly be of admirable conſequence: but thoſe who ſhould beſt know the real ſtate of the company's affairs, and are ſomewhat acquainted with the immenſe fortunes made by their ſervants, aſſert that much more than this might be done; that all public buſineſs might pay itſelf, and carry ſome millions annually to the king's treaſury. However, whether this is or is not the caſe, it affects not the preſent argument.

It would be thought a very ſtrange aſſertion by ſome of the defenders of this pernicious monopoly, to hear of Eaſt India company ſhips being obliged to ſail above eleven thouſand miles, without a ſingle port at command, and then to carry on a trade with all the countries of India, without a ſingle fort or ſettlement; and yet this is the very caſe with the Swediſh Eaſt Indiamen. A circumſtance of great conſequence is demonſtrated from the conduct of the Swediſh company, that the Eaſt India trade may be carried on without either conqueſts or ſettlements: which, conſidering the many and plauſible reaſons urged againſt it, nothing but experience could have ſhewn. It is true that commerce thus carried on may be in ſome reſpects more inconvenient; but theſe very inconveniencies produce an aſſiduity and circumſpection, which are attended with many bene-

* Bengal and Bahaar. See Holwel's tracts.

ficial

ficial conſequences, and, beſides hinder either diſhoneſty or haughtineſs towards the natives, from which much greater miſchiefs ariſe. Add to this, that by making great diligence and ſtrict œconomy, neceſſary in the management of their ſervants, it ſecures to the company regular and conſtant, though leſs plentiful, returns *.

The benefits that would reſult from laying open this commerce, are not more dubious than the practicability of the plan; and this will appear from conſidering the advantages which the nation at preſent reaps from the India trade. Theſe are principally the exportation of about three hundred thouſand pounds worth of manufactures; and the employment of more than two thouſand ſeamen, with the building, fitting out, &c. of twenty or thirty † ſail of ſhips. I ſay nothing of the diſadvantages. Now theſe would be enjoyed if the trade was in private hands, for if it anſwers to ſend out any manufactures by the company, it would certainly be the ſame with private merchants; and as to the employment of ſhips, &c. the very exiſtence of the trade at all cannot be ſuppoſed without it. If there is in the Eaſt Indies a demand for three hundred thouſand pounds worth of manufactures, and for the employment of twenty ſail of ſhips, that demand will undoubtedly continue to private adventurers, as well as the company. In whatever view the compariſon is beheld, it will in every point be obvious, that the nation would run no manner of riſk of loſing theſe few advantages, by throwing the trade from the hands of a monopoly into thoſe of the public.

But to reverſe the medal, and conſider for a moment what would in all human probability be gained by it. The exportation of manufactures, and the employment of ſhipping, are the ſame thing; the one

* Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 270.

† The number is greater now, it is from thirty to forty out, and as many home.

neceſſa-

neceſſarily reſults from the other, and therefore I ſhall conſider them as one. What are the reaſons for ſuppoſing this great benefit would reſult in a larger degree from an open trade, than from a limited one? Many. With a company there is no competition, no rivalſhip; they carry out preciſely that quantity of goods which will turn moſt to their own profit. To export ſilver is much more profitable than manufactures; the latter are bulky, and require much more ſhip room; this is expenſive, the charges of the voyage are great; if the whole could be carried on with a ſingle ſhip, ſo much the greater the proportionate profit; and having no competitors, it is at their option to ſort their cargoes merely to theſe ideas, and not with an eye to what others may carry out if they do not. The ſame obſervation is applicable to their returns from India. High prices are in every inſtance the views of a company, not the enlargement of commerce. This is the great hinge upon which the profit of all monopolies turn. The Dutch company in many plentiful years burn five times the ſpices they ſell, when they are ſure of a ſale for the whole, if they would drop the exorbitant prices of them, and at the ſame time export five times the quantity of manufactures, and employ five times the number of ſhips. The great de Witte makes this remark, and juſtly attributes it to the private profit of the monopoly; which is one thing, but the good of the ſtate another. It has been proved inconteſtibly that our Hudſon's Bay company might export an hundred times their preſent quantity of manufactures if they would lower their prices; but that would be ſinking their profits: how is it therefore to be expected that they will do it?

But what is of yet greater conſequence is, the competition which would ariſe. Many ſhips arriving in the Indies from Britain belonging to different owners, cannot fix any determinate price on their cargoes

cargoes of manufactures, and commodities, but muſt and would, as in all other trades, take the firſt opportunity of diſpoſing of them to a moderate advantage, leſt others ſhould underſell them, and clear the beſt market. The conſequence of this is, the dropping the price of the Britiſh goods in India, which is but another name for enlarging the ſale of them. The grand advantage of all others to manufactures is, their being ſold cheap; whatever raiſes their price, and in whatever market, whether taxes at home, or monopolies abroad, cramps their ſale, and ſtarves thoſe poor who otherwiſe might live by their induſtry.

Competition would act in the ſame manner in the carrying out our manufactures, as in the ſale of them. A company ſends out not a ton of ſhipping more than is abſolutely neceſſary to their contracted ſphere of trade; but private merchants very often diſpatch ſuch numbers of ſhips wherever they trade, as to glut their markets; which, however it may leſſen private gains, is of admirable conſequence to the public. Inſtead of the Britiſh trade to half the globe employing two or three and twenty ſhips, we ſhould have two or three hundred conſtantly employed in it. "There are a greater number of ſhip tonage," ſays Sir Matthew Decker, "employed in the trade to the free port of Leghorn only, than all the three Britiſh companies employed in their monopolies to three-fourths of the world; like the fable of the dog in the manger, not eating themſelves, but preventing thoſe who would." * Now the increaſe of the ſhipping employed in any trade infallibly increaſes the exportation of manufactures. Rather than go out to the Indies empty, the merchants would load their ſhips upon ſpeculation, or for the mere freight, which is never done by the

* Cauſes of the Decline of Foreign Trade, 12mo. p. 44.

company: all which tends powerfully to the great point, the conſumption of our manufactures.

It is very difficult to fix bounds to the increaſe of trade which would reſult from ſuch a change, in ſuch immenſe and rich countries as thoſe of the Eaſt; the activity of private adventurers would open new markets at preſent unthought of; and find out freſh demands for our manufactures and commodities in countries unknown to the company. "The great fault of companies in general," ſays Dr. Campbell, "is, that they become too cold and phlegmatic in their management, under colour of being methodical, and maintaining a ſtrict oeconomy." Now this phlegm obtains in no trade carried on by private merchants; all commerce that is open and free, is ſpirited and active, and a national exportation is always carried on briſkly.

If any one doubts whether the exportation of manufactures would increaſe upon laying this trade open, let him reflect a moment upon the conduct of the company, reſpecting their ſervants carrying out cloth: they lay an abſolute prohibition on it, which would be needleſs did they not know that their ſervants can underſell them; for the company wants not money to ſupply all the cloth that can be vended with the uſual profit. In the year 1741, a ſeizure was made in one of the out-ports of a large quantity of cloth deſigned for India, belonging to one of the company's ſervants, when at the ſame time, by the decay of our woollen trade, the poors rates were 8 s. in the pound in ſome of our clothing towns, from whence this abſurdity aroſe, that whilſt our clothiers were ſtarving, the exportation of cloth was a contraband trade †. Theſe ſeizures have happened fre-

† Sir M. Decker's Decline of Foreign Trade, p. 43. And for other unanſwerable arguments, ſee Sir Joſiah Child on Trade, p. 110. Avantages & deſavantages de la F. & G. Br. 236. 251.

Laws

quently ſince, and our rates in many manufacturing towns are ten ſhillings in the pound.

If this point of the benefit attending a free trade to the Eaſt-Indies be viewed in even ſuch various lights, the aſpect will be in all the ſame; the infinitely beneficial conſequences of it muſt be apparent. I ſay nothing of the regulation of the trade, whether to lay it abſolutely open, or to continue the company with great eaſe of admiſſion to all who demand it: but if the latter, the reſtrictions ſhould be very ſlight. Sir Joſiah Child would have the purchaſe and charges not to exceed 20 l. Whatever regulations of this ſort are adopted, provided the great end of a free trade be obtained, the advantages which would immediately flow into the nation at large, would be prodigious. Our manufactures would flouriſh; our poor be ſet to work; our ſhipping and ſeamen vaſtly increaſed; the general profit of our commerce exceedingly enlarged; and our public revenues immenſely enriched. Theſe are benefits all of the greateſt and moſt important kind, and highly deſerve the conſideration of the legiſlature, before they grant a renewal of a moſt pernicious charter, which never had ten words of ſound reaſoning urged in its defence. It has been frequently proved, that the great body of Britiſh merchants would make it turn to the government's account, by means of requiſite ſubſcriptions if they would diſſolve the company; which with the great conſequential increaſe of revenue, is ſufficient ſurely to open the eyes of the moſt prejudiced. †

The opinion of the grand penſionary de Witte, ſhould never be forgot with regard to the Dutch

Laws and Policy of England relating to Trade, p. 97. Poſtlethwayte art. Siam, copied from ſeveral reflections on the Eaſt-Indian and African companies, 1695. p. 10.

† Political Eſſays, p. 515, &c.

India trade, which ſtands much more in need of an excluſive charter than ours. "The ſtates found that the trade of theſe ſocieties (the Eaſt and Weſt Indies and Greenland companies) was carried on with ſo great prejudice to the reſt of the people who were excluded, that if our governors had then, or ſhould now deal in the ſame manner with the trade of Europe, by erecting companies excluſive of all others; for example, one company for the dealers in the Mediterranean; a ſecond of the French and Spaniſh merchants; a third for the Eaſtern and Northern merchants; a fourth for the Britiſh and Iriſh trades; a fifth for the haddoc, cod, and herring fiſheries: I ſay, if they had done this, one tenth part of our inhabitants would not have been able to live and earn their bread; ſo that Holland would ſoon have been ruined, even though the trade of thoſe companies had been carried on with ſo great induſtry, that notwithſtanding any reſolutions taken by France, England, Sweden, and the ſtates of Italy to diſturb, prohibit, and prevent foreign manufactures, and conſequently thoſe of Holland to be brought into their countries, yet each of thoſe companies in the ſmall compaſs of our Europe, had driven a greater trade than the whole Eaſt-India company now drives to the incomparably greater, mightier, and richer Aſia, both in goods and money: for it cannot be denied, that the free eaſtern trade alone produces ten times more profit to the ſtate and the commonalty of Holland, than twelve or ſixteen ſhips which yearly ſail from Holland to the Eaſt-Indies, do now yield to the ſtate and the inhabitants." "This paſſage is very remarkable," ſays a modern ſenſible politician, "contains a variety of facts equally curious and important, deſerves to be read with the greateſt care, and to be weighed and examined with the utmoſt attention."

CON-

CONSUMPTON, the expenditure and uſe of products, commodities, manufactures, and labour. The man who pays money for the labour of an hundred, or a thouſand men upon his own eſtate, or in proſecution of any ſcheme, is ſaid to conſume ſo much labour. The private uſe of all ſorts of manufactures, ſuch as cloaths, furniture, equipages, &c. is the conſumption of them.

Politically ſpeaking, conſumption is the great pillar of conſiderable ſtates; of ſuch as are too great to be ſupported principally by foreign commerce: Spain, France, England, and Germany, ſupport themſelves principally by what is called home conſumption; but Holland being very ſmall, and yet poſſeſſed of immenſe trade, is ſupported chiefly by that trade, or the conſumption of foreigners. In England it is home conſumption that employs much the greater part of our manufacturers, of our merchants, of our farmers and labourers, and that ſupports the ſtate by the payment of taxes. Conſumption going regularly on, gives bread and employment to the poor claſſes; and, in a word, is the foundation of the kingdom.

Stateſmen lay hold of conſumption for the application of taxes; and with great reaſon, becauſe all impoſitions which are laid on the conſumption, are proportioned to the abilities of thoſe who pay them. If I conſume a yard of cloth, I pay the exciſes which have been laid on it, and which are blended with the price of the commodity, but I may avoid paying thoſe taxes by omitting to conſume: ſo that taxes on conſumption are abſolutely voluntary contributions; none need to pay the taxes; none will pay them if they do not conſume. But a tax laid on property is another thing, I muſt pay it not becauſe I am able, but becauſe I have ſuch a poſſeſſion.

Therefore by promoting conſumption, the ſtateſman is enabled to do without taxes on property, which fall ſo heavy on every claſs that poſſeſs any liable to the tax.

Conſumption will always be proportioned to income, individual caſes of a particular nature only excepted; hence the importance of increaſing the national income, which can only be done by judiciouſly improving agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; for theſe are the great ſupports of income, which will always flouriſh in proportion to their ſucceſs; and that giving birth neceſſarily to a proportioned conſumption, the general circulation goes round, and all ranks and claſſes of people find full employment, which enables all to promote conſumption in their turn; while the ſtateſman lays all under contribution by his taxes, without any one ſeeming to be the poorer.

CORN.

(Price of in England.)

It is of importance to know the progreſs of the price of corn, as from thence we are enabled to judge of all public acts which are ſuppoſed to effect it; and alſo, of the due proportion between ſuch prices and the rates of labour, &c.

A table

A table ſhewing the value of the quarter of middle wheat and malt, at Windſor market for ſeveral periods within 170 years, and for the whole time, ſtatute meaſure.

Number of years and when			Averages.					
No.	from	to	qr. wheat.			qr. malt.		
11	1595	1606	1	12	$10\frac{7}{9}$	0	18	$9\frac{5}{9}$
20	1606	1626	1	14	$1\frac{8}{9}$	0	17	$11\frac{6}{9}$
20	1626	1646	1	19	10	1	3	$8\frac{4}{9}$
20	1646	1666	2	5	$4\frac{5}{9}$	1	5	4
20	1666	1686	1	16	$7\frac{1}{9}$	1	1	0
20	1686	1706	1	16	$3\frac{1}{9}$	1	1	$0\frac{7}{9}$
20	1706	1726	1	15	$4\frac{2}{9}$	1	2	$3\frac{4}{9}$
20	1726	1746	1	9	$10\frac{4}{9}$	1	1	$4\frac{3}{9}$
19	1746	1765	1	11	$8\frac{4}{9}$	1	1	$10\frac{8}{9}$
51	1595	1646	1	15	$9\frac{2}{9}$	1	0	$1\frac{3}{9}$
40	1646	1686	2	0	$11\frac{7}{9}$	1	3	$2\frac{1}{9}$
40	1686	1726	1	15	$9\frac{5}{9}$	1	1	$8\frac{1}{9}$
39	1726	1765	1	10	$9\frac{5}{9}$	1	1	$7\frac{1}{9}$
91	1595	1686	1	18	$0\frac{8}{9}$	1	1	$10\frac{8}{9}$
79	1686	1765	1	13	$2\frac{5}{9}$	1	1	$7\frac{5}{9}$
170	1595	1765	1	15	$9\frac{8}{9}$	1	1	$8\frac{2}{9}$

From this table it is obſervable, that the prices of wheat and malt have not been higher ſince the bounty hath been paid, which was firſt given in 1689; but, on the contrary, wheat hath been conſiderably cheaper on the whole, and continually on the decline; notwithſtanding the export hath continued to increaſe, and there is reaſon to believe, bread made of wheat is become more generally the food of the labouring part of the people than before the bounty was given, which difference in the price of wheat is explained below, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
From 1595 to 1686 average	1	18	0
1686 to 1720 - - - - -	1	15	9
Leſs for the firſt 40 years -	0	2	3

	£.	s.	d.
From 1595 to 1686 average -	1	18	0
1726 to 1765 - - -	1	10	9
Leſs for the laſt 39 years - -	0	7	3
From 1595 to 1686 average -	1	18	0
1686 to 1765, ditto -	1	13	2
Leſs for the laſt 79 years -	0	4	10

If we compare the average for the 40 years immediately before that in which the bounty took place, with the average of the whole time ſince, the difference appears ſtill greater.

From 1646 to 1686 average -	2	0	11
1686 to 1765, ditto -	1	13	2
Leſs for the laſt 79 years -	0	7	9

And hereby the utility and good effects of the bounty are manifeſted, in that tillage hath been thereby ſo encouraged and improved, as to make wheat cheaper at home, and at the ſame time bring large ſums into the kingdom for the corn exported. *

EXPORTATION.

	Years.	Qrs. Corn.	Value. £.
From 1697 to 1706	9	1,668,904	1,874,994
From 1606 to 1726	20	8,134,196	8,429,704
From 1726 to 1746	20	9,488,703	10,080,224
From 1746 to 1765	19	13,852,176	15,872,502
Totals.	68	33,143,980	36,257,426

* Three tracts on the corn trade and corn laws, p. 105.

The

The very freight of this corn amounted to above three millions ſterling. *

Exports of FRANCE.

A late writer ſpeaks of the French exportation in a manner which ought to fill us with fears: "We reckon the annual exportation, ſays he, of three millions of buſhels, to make about 1800 or 2000 voyages, and employ four or five hundred ſhips; but it is doubtful if we have added that number to our former one. Nevertheleſs, in the years 1764 and 1765, circumſtances were very favourable to our exportation: the defect in the Sicilian crops ſhewed itſelf at the end of the autumn of 1763; the firſt ſuccours and the moſt prompt were thoſe of France. In 1765 Portugal, Spain, Italy and England, imported corn from us; the granaries of the North were empty, and the crop very moderate; notwithſtanding all this it is evident, that in the courſe of theſe two years we have not exported more than three millions of buſhels. Our proximity to the conſuming countries is the reaſon that we have broke in upon the exportation of England more than that of Poland ‖.

GROWTH and CONSUMPTION.

Clear ideas of the corn trade can never be gained, unleſs we are acquainted with the quantity of the kingdom's growth, and that neceſſary for home conſumption; then we ſhall ſee at once what there is to ſpare for exportation: this is an extreme difficult enquiry, the following tables will elucidate it.

* Farmer's Letters, Vol. I. p. 53.
‖ Obſervations œconomiques, Tom. II. p. 224.

Sort.

Sort.	Growth.	Conſumed.	Export.	Import.
Barley	4,603,272	4,433,125	171,253	1,106
Oats	4,240,947	4,252,725	3,737	15,515
Rye	1,063,652	1,030,000	36,591	2,939
Wheat	4,046,603	3,840,000	210,771	4,168
	13,954,474			
Seed 1 tenth	1,395,447			
	15,349,921	13,555,850	422,352	23,728*

But another writer who ſeems to draw his concluſions from better premiſes, calculates the growths.

	qrs.
Wheat and rye	9,198,585
Barley	11,595,792
Oats	10,285,690
Total	‖ 31,080,067
Export	422,352

From whence we find that the export is but a ſeventy-third of the growth: there are 3,066,195 acres of wheat and rye annually ſown in England alone, conſequently the export amounts to little more than two pecks per acre. From this remarkable fact let the enemies of the bounty determine the exportation to be the occaſion of the high price of corn: they may come to this determination if they pleaſe—but it muſt be while they are blinded with prejudice.—Converſe with the moſt ſenſible cultivators in every county of the kingdom, and learn whether they think half a buſhel per acre any ma-

* Three Tracts, p. 144.

‖ Six Months Tour thro' the North of England, Vol. IV.

terial

terial deficiency of crop—they will ſay, no; and that they ſhould never complain of any crop that fell only half a buſhel ſhort of their exportation. That a deficiency in the crop oftener extended to a quarter and half, or two quarters. See therefore how much more likely it is, that a light crop ſhould raiſe the price, than the exportation: in fact, corn being at a high price in England, is never owing to the exportation, but to a deficiency of crop. *

CORSICA, a well known iſland in the Mediterranean, which France has been allowed to acquire almoſt without ſtriking a blow, much to the diſgrace of her neighbours politics. Great Britain and all Italy, eſpecially the king of Sardinia, ſhould have heartily united in preventing ſuch an acquiſition. Beſides the real and internal conſequence of the poſſeſſion of ſo large an iſland, it will in time of war be found to give the French ſhips in that ſea, both men of war and merchantmen, advantages which they never enjoyed, except while Minorca was in their hands; ready and ſecure harbours to fly to, moſt happily ſituated, not only for eſcaping our cruiſers, but alſo for their privateers to ruin our Leghorn trade. Add to this, that the iſland is full of very fine ſhip timber, which is a commodity they could not get at Toulon under an immenſe expence; and induced them to buy men of war of the Genoeſe, built of Corſican timber. Theſe are all objects of importance, which in good politics ought not to have been overlooked by our miniſtry; who might with more reaſon have declared they would allow of no ſuch French acquiſitions in the Mediterranean, than the court of Verſailles could have for aſſuring that of London, they would not be tame ſpectators of any Ruſſian conqueſts in that ſea.

* Farmer's Letters, Vol. I. p. 55.

CREDIT.

CREDIT (Public) is the confidence repoſed in a ſtate or body politic borrowing money, on condition that the capital ſhall not be demandable, but that a certain proportional part of the ſum ſhall be annually paid, either in lieu of intereſt, or in extinction of part of the capital; for the ſecurity of which payment a permanent annual fund is appropriated, with a liberty, however to the ſtate to ſet itſelf free by repaying the whole, when nothing to the contrary is ſtipulated.

The ſolidity of the ſecurity is eſſential to borrowing upon the cheapeſt terms: let me ſuppoſe it to be as ſolid as land-property, and as permanent as government itſelf, what will the conſequence be?

If we ſuppoſe government to go on in increaſing every year the ſum of their debts upon perpetual annuities, and appropriating in proportion every branch of revenue for the payment of them, the conſequence will be, in the firſt place, to tranſport in favour of the creditors the whole income of the ſtate, of which government will retain the adminiſtration.

If the borrowings of a ſtate be only in proportion to the extinction of the old capitals, or of what I have called determinate annuities, then the debts will not increaſe.

When a ſtateſman therefore eſtabliſhes a ſyſtem of public credit, the firſt object which ſhould fix his attention is, to calculate how far the conſtitution of the ſtate and its internal circumſtances render it expedient to throw the revenue of it into the hands of a monied intereſt. I ſay, this is the moſt important object of his deliberation, becauſe the ſolidity of his credit depends upon it.

If of all the intereſts of the ſtate, duly conſidered, that of trade be found to predominate, leſs inconvenience will be found in allowing the monied intereſt to ſwell; but in monarchies, where the land-

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ed intereſt is the moſt powerful, it would be dangerous to erect ſo formidable a rival to it. In political bodies every ſeparate intereſt will conſult its own; and in the conteſt between thoſe who pay, and thoſe who receive the taxes, under the denomination of creditors, the ſecurity of public credit becomes precarious.

From this we may conclude, 1*mo.* that in governments where the ſwelling of a monied intereſt is found to threaten the tranquility of the ſtate, care ſhould be taken either to eſtabliſh a ſinking fund for paying off in times of peace what may have been borrowed in times of war; or the plan of borrowing upon determinate annuities muſt be eſtabliſhed.

2*do*, If natural cauſes be left to work their own effects without a ſyſtematical plan of borrowing, the conſequence will be a bankruptcy, and a total failure of public credit, at leaſt for ſome time.

3*tio*, If a ſtate ſhould find the maſs of their debts to amount to ſo great a ſum as to be inſupportable, they might have recourſe to a total, or partial abolition of them by an act of power.

4*to*, If they allow their debts to ſwell without limitation, and adhere to the faith of their engagements, the whole property of the ſtate will be in conſtant circulation, from one claſs of men to another.

5*to*, If the debts contracted be the property of foreigners, theſe will either remove into the country where their funds ariſe, or the property, that is, the *dominium utile* of the country will be tranſferred from the natives. *

When public credit is employed for raiſing money upon payment of a perpetual intereſt; or if, whatever be the plan laid down, capitals ſhould not happen to be diſcharged, and that the debts ſhould

* Political Oeconomy, Vol. II. p. 349.

ſwell

ſwell continually, in this caſe the contingent conſequences are many and various, far exceeding any man's ſagacity to inveſtigate.

If we judge of them from what paſt experience teaches us, we may conclude, that in one way or other, all debts contracted will in time diſappear, either by being paid, or by being aboliſhed: becauſe it is not to be expected that poſterity will groan under ſuch a burthen any longer than it is convenient; and becauſe in fact we ſee no very old public debts as yet out-ſtanding, where intereſt has been regularly paid.

This is a very rational concluſion from paſt experience; but it is only relative to the circumſtances of paſt times. While the debtors are the maſters, there is no difficulty of getting clear of debts: but if the conſequence of this new ſyſtem ſhould be to make the creditors the maſters, I ſuppoſe the caſe might be different. Farther,

In former times public debts were contracted between the ſtate and its own ſubjects; but at preſent we ſee that in ſuch loans, foreigners, even enemies, are invited to concur: and the better to engage them to it, a total immunity is promiſed from all taxes, upon the intereſt to be paid by the borrowers.

This circumſtance has already drawn the attention of princes, in the diſcuſſion of their reciprocal concerns. We ſaw how in the treaty of Dreſden, which took place after the king of Pruſſia's invaſion of Saxony, in 1745, it was provided by the 6th article, that all debts due by the bank of the Steuer to that princes ſubjects, were to be paid, on preſentation of their contracts.

We have not indeed as yet ſeen wars carried on for the payment of debts; but the caſe may happen, and kingdoms may be carried off upon ſuch pretenſions, as well as private property. What a chain of

of contingent conſequences ariſes from this ſingle combination, were this a proper place to introduce them!

But without going to the ſuppoſition of princes or nations becoming reciprocally engaged in debts, and thereby involving ſuch mighty intereſts in the ſupport of public faith, we may eaſily conceive, that a monied intereſt of a long ſtanding, may have influence enough to operate a change upon the ſpirit and manners of a people.

Let me here take the example of Great Britain. Do we not ſee how the ſpirit of that nation is totally upon the ſupport of public credit? And do we not ſee how abſolutely their commerical intereſt depends upon it? Can it be ſuppoſed that every one has combined all the conſequences which may flow from the conſtant ſwelling of their debts? Or indeed is it poſſible to determine what will be the conſequences of them? This however we may ſuppoſe at leaſt, becauſe we ſee the progreſs of it already, that the intereſt of the creditors will daily gather ſtrength, both in parliament and without: and if from ſmall beginnings it has arrived at the pitch we now ſee, it is very natural to conclude, that in time it may become ſtronger, and at laſt that the creditors of the nation may become the maſters of it.

When any one intereſt becomes too predominant, the proſperity of the ſtate ſtands upon a precarious footing. Every intereſt ſhould be encouraged, protected, and kept within due bounds.

If the intereſt paid upon the national debt of England be found to increaſe upon every new war, the conſequence will be, that the more money will be raiſed on the ſubject for the payment of it. The queſtion then comes to be, 1. How far may debts extend? 2. How far may taxes be carried? and thirdly, what will be the conſequence, ſuppoſing the

the one and the other carried to the greateſt height poſſible?

I anſwer to the firſt, that abſtracting from circumſtances which may diſturb the gradual progreſs of this operation, before it can arrive at the *ne plus ultra*, debts may be increaſed to the full proportion of all that can be raiſed for the payment of the intereſt. As to the ſecond, how far taxes may be carried; they affect income or conſumption. The land tax may be carried to the full value of all the real eſtates in England. As for perſonal eſtates it never can affect them proportionally; and that part of the ſtatute of land tax which paſſes every year, and impoſes 4s. in the pound on perſonal eſtates, carries in it a veſtige of our former ignorance in matters of taxation.

The notion of impoſing *(facto)* 20 s. in the pound upon the real value of all the land rents of England, appears to us perfectly ridiculous. I admit it to be ſo; and could I have diſcovered any argument by which I could have limited the riſing of the land tax to any preciſe number of ſhillings under twenty, I ſhould have ſtated this as the maximum, rather than the other.

The ſecond branch of taxes comprehends thoſe upon conſumptions, exciſes, and the like. The maximum as to this claſs muſt be determined by foreign trade; becauſe this is affected in a certain degree by the price of domeſtic induſtry. Other taxes have not this effect.

But as foreign trade is not eſſential to the domeſtic induſtry, conſumption, circulation, &c. of any nation, but only to their increaſing in wealth proportionally to other nations; if foreign communications ſhould be cut off entirely, I perceive no limit to which I can confine the extent of proportional taxes. Let me therefore ſuppoſe a term beyond which impoſitions of all kinds muſt come to a ſtop,

ſtop, and then aſk, in the third place, what will the conſequence be? I anſwer, that the ſtate will then be in poſſeſſion of all that can be raiſed on the land, on the conſumption, induſtry, and trade of the country; in ſhort, of all that can be called income, which they will adminiſter for the creditors.

When this comes to be the caſe, debts become extinguiſhed of courſe; becauſe they come to be conſolidated with the property; a caſe which commonly happens when a creditor takes poſſeſſion of an eſtate for the payment of debts equal to its value.

Then government may continue to adminiſter for the creditors, and either retain in its hand what is neceſſary for the public expence of the year; or, if it inclines to ſhew the ſame indulgence for this new claſs of proprietors as for the former, it may limit the retention to a ſum only equal to the intereſt of the money wanted; and in that way ſet out upon a new ſyſtem of borrowing, until the amount of taxes be transferred to a new ſet of creditors.

A ſtate, I imagine, which would preſerve its public faith inviolable, until a period ſuch as I have been ſuppoſing, would run little riſque of not finding credit for a new borrowing. The proſpect of a ſecond revolution of the ſame kind would be very diſtant; and in matters of credit, which are conſtantly expoſed to riſque, ſuch events, being out of the reach of calculation, are never taken into any man's account who has money to lend.

The whole of this hypotheſis is, I readily agree, deſtitute of all probability; becauſe of the infinite variety of circumſtances which may fruſtrate ſuch a ſcheme.

Were the trade and induſtry of England to decay, the amount of taxes might ſo far diminiſh as to prove inſufficient to pay the intereſt of the national debt, and defray the expence of government. Were the people to be blown up into a ſpirit of revolt a-

gainſt taxes, the ſame event would probably happen. In either caſe, the natural and immediate conſequences of the bankruptcy would probably follow one another in this manner:

1*mo.* Every creditor of the ſtate would become poorer in proportion to the diminution of his income.

2*do.* Conſumption, and the demand for work, would diminiſh in proportion to the part of that income with-held, which the creditors annually expend for theſe purpoſes.

3*tio.* Trade would directly ſuffer, in proportion to that part of the ſaid revenue yearly thrown into it by the public creditors at preſent; and it would conſequently ſuffer in proportion to the hurt reſulting to private credit, from the conſequences of the bankruptcy.

The creditors then would loſe all, the trade of England would be undone, and the multitudes who live in conſequence of the demand for their induſtry from the one and the other, would be reduced to miſery. Theſe immediate effects would firſt manifeſt themſelves in the capital. The conſequences would ſoon be felt all over England; a diminution upon the conſumption of the fruits of the earth; a ſtagnation of that commerce which is carried on between London and the country (which is equal to the amount of all the taxes and land-rents ſpent in London) would ſoon throw every thing into confuſion. But taxes would be aboliſhed; of that there is no doubt. Let a deliberate bankruptcy take place without any abolition of them by law, they would ſoon ſink to nothing, from the utter impoſſibility there would be found to pay them.

A total bankruptcy therefore coming upon England, either from a decay of her trade, or a diſturbance in collecting the public revenue, would have the effect of plunging the nation into utter ruin at home: what might be the conſequences from abroad,

abroad, I leave to the reader's ſagacity to determine.

Let me now ſuppoſe a bankruptcy to take place from a deliberate act of power, with a view of expediency.

The difference between the two conſiſts only in this; that in the firſt, all the conſequences we have mentioned would follow one upon another, without a poſſibility of preventing them; in the other, a plan to prevent them might be concerted.

Let me then ſuppoſe that government ſhall find it expedient, at any time, to uſe a ſpunge for the public debts; that they ſhall fear no external bad conſequences, either from the reſentment of thoſe ſtates who may be hurt by it, or from the ambition of others who may profit by it; that they ſhall coolly reſolve to ſacrifice the intereſt of all the creditors, in favour of the whole body; and that they ſhall deliberate upon the plan to be followed, in order to bring about ſo great a revolution, without eſſentially hurting any intereſt in the ſtate, that of the creditors alone excepted.

In that caſe, I imagine, they would begin by ordering the amount of all that is paid to the creditors, to be ſet apart as a fund for the execution of the plan.

They would purchaſe all over England, every article of produce and manufacture which might remain upon hand for want of a market: they would feed all thoſe who would be forced to be idle for want of employment: they would inſtantly put proper employments into their hands, as one week's delay in the execution of this part of the plan would throw the manufacturing intereſt into ſuch confuſion, as to be paſt all remedy: they would furniſh credit to all the merchants ſubſiſting in proportion to what they had loſt by the extinction of the funds: they would eſtabliſh offices every where, to ſupply

the wants of thoſe who would be totally ruined, until by degrees they could re-eſtabliſh confidence, the parent of trade, the mother of induſtry. By ſuch precautions, properly taken, and properly executed, none would ſuffer but the unhappy creditors and their families, who from great opulence, would be reduced to poverty *.

This ſubject of public credit being of infinite importance, and having a peculiar reference to the preſent ſtate of Great Britain, we ſhall inſert another quotation from a very ingenious author, who has treated it with great ability.

It appears to have been the common practice of antiquity, to make proviſion in times of peace, for the neceſſities of war, and to hoard up treaſures before hand, as the inſtruments either of conqueſt or defence; without truſting to extraordinary impoſts, much leſs to borrowing in times of diſorder and confuſion. On the contrary, our modern expedient, which has become very general, is to mortgage the public revenues, and to truſt that poſterity, during peace, will pay off the incumbrances contracted during the preceding war: and they having before their eyes ſo good an example of their wiſe fathers, have the ſame prudent reliance on their poſterity; who at laſt, from neceſſity more than choice, are obliged to place the ſame confidence in a new poſterity. But not to waſte time in declaiming againſt a practice which appears ruinous beyond the evidence of an hundred demonſtrations, it ſeems pretty apparent that the antient maxims are, in this reſpect, much more prudent than the modern.

We have indeed been told that the public is no weaker upon account of its debts; ſince they are moſtly due among ourſelves, and bring as much

* Political Oeconomy, Vol. II. 459.

property

property to one as they take from another. It is like transferring money from the right hand to the left; which leaves the perſon neither richer nor poorer than before. Such looſe reaſonings, and ſpecious compariſons will always paſs, where we judge not upon principles. I aſk, is it poſſible in the nature of things, to over-burthen a nation with taxes, even where the ſovereign reſides among them? The very doubt ſeems extravagant, ſince it is requiſite, in every common-wealth, that there be a certain proportion obſerved between the laborious and the idle part of it. But if all our preſent taxes be mortgaged, muſt we not invent new ones? And may not this matter be carried to a length that is ruinous and deſtructive?

In every nation there are always ſome methods of levying money, more eaſy than others, agreeable to the way of living of the people, and the commodities they make uſe of. In Britain the exciſes upon malt and beer afford a very large revenue, becauſe the operations of malting and brewing are very tedious, and are impoſſible to be concealed; and at the ſame time theſe commodities are not ſo abſolutely neceſſary to life, as that the raiſing their price would very much affect the poorer ſort. Theſe taxes being all mortgaged, what difficulty to find new ones! What vexation and ruin of the poor!

Duties upon conſumptions are more equal and eaſy than thoſe upon poſſeſſions. What a loſs to the public that the former are all exhauſted, and that we muſt have recourſe to the more grievous method of levying taxes!

Were all the proprietors of land only ſtewards to the public, muſt not neceſſity force them to practiſe all the acts of oppreſſion uſed by ſtewards, where the abſence or negligence of the proprietor render them ſecure againſt enquiry?

Suppoſe the public once fairly brought to that

condition to which it is haſtening with ſuch amazing rapidity; ſuppoſe the land to be taxed eighteen or nineteen ſhillings in the pound, for it can never bear the whole twenty; ſuppoſe all the exciſes and cuſtoms to be ſcrewed up to the utmoſt which the nation can bear, without entirely loſing its commerce and induſtry; and ſuppoſe that all thoſe funds are mortgaged to perpetuity, and that the invention and wit of all our projectors, can find no new impoſition which may ſerve as the foundation of a new loan; and let us conſider the neceſſary conſequences of this ſituation. Though the imperfect ſtate of our political knowledge, and the narrow capacities of men make it difficult to foretel the effects, which will reſult from any untried meaſure, the ſeeds of ruin are here ſcattered with ſuch profuſion as not to eſcape the eye of the moſt careleſs obſerver.

In an unnational ſtate of ſociety, the only perſons who poſſeſs any revenue beyond the immediate effects of their induſtry, are the ſtockholders, who draw almoſt all the rents of the land and houſes, beſides the produce of all the cuſtoms and exciſes. Theſe are men who have no connexions in the ſtate, who can enjoy their revenue in any part of the world in which they chooſe to reſide, who will naturally bury themſelves in the capital, or in great cities, and who will ſink into the lethargy of a ſtupid and pampered luxury, without ſpirit, ambition, or enjoyment. Adieu to all ideas of nobility, gentry, and family. The ſtocks can be transferred in an inſtant, and being in ſuch a fluctuating ſtate, will ſeldom be tranſmitted during three generations, from father to ſon. Or, were they to remain ever ſo long in one family, they convey no hereditary authority, or credit to the poſſeſſors; and by this means the ſeveral ranks of men, which form a kind of independant magiſtracy in a ſtate, inſtituted by the hand of nature, are entirely loſt; and

every

every man in authority derives his influence from the commiſſion alone of the ſovereign. No expedient remains for preventing, or ſuppreſſing inſurrections, but mercenary armies. No expedient at all remains for reſiſting tyranny. Elections are ſwayed by bribery and corruption alone; and the middle power between king and people being totally removed, a horrible deſpotiſm muſt infallibly prevail. The land-holders, deſpiſed for their poverty, and hated for their oppreſſions, will be utterly unable to make any oppoſition to it.

If the prince has become abſolute, as may naturally be expected from this ſituation of affairs, it is ſo eaſy for him to encreaſe his exactions upon the annuitants, which amount only to his retaining money in his own hands, that this ſpecies of property would ſoon loſe all its credit, and the whole income of every individual in the ſtate muſt lie entirely at the mercy of the ſovereign: a degree of deſpotiſm which no Oriental monarchy has ever yet attained.

Such are the inconveniencies which may reaſonably be foreſeen, of this ſituation to which Great Britain is viſibly tending: not to mention the numberleſs inconveniencies, which cannot be foreſeen, and which muſt reſult from ſo monſtrous a ſituation as that of making the public the ſole proprietor of land, beſides inveſting it with every branch of cuſtoms and exciſe, which the fertile imagination of miniſters and projectors have been able to invent.

But though the project of Hutchinſon is never likely to take place, it is not altogether improbable, that when the nation becomes heartily ſick of their debts, and are cruelly oppreſſed by them, ſome daring projector may ariſe with viſionary ſchemes for their diſcharge. And as public credit will begin, by that time, to be a little frail, the leaſt touch

will deſtroy it, as happened in France; and in this manner it will die of the doctor.

But it is more probable that the breach of national faith will be the neceſſary effects of wars, defeats, misfortunes, and public calamities, or even perhaps of victories and conqueſts. I muſt confeſs, when I ſee princes and ſtates fighting and quarrelling, amidſt their debts, funds, and public mortgages, it always brings to my mind a match of cudgel-playing, fought in a china ſhop. How can it be expected that ſovereigns will ſpare a ſpecies of property which is pernicious to themſelves, and to the public, when they have ſo little compaſſion on lives and properties, which are uſeful to both. Let the time come (and ſurely it will come) when the new funds created for the exigencies of the year are not ſubſcribed to, and raiſe not the money projected. Suppoſe either that the caſh of the nation is exhauſted, or that our faith, which has been hitherto ſo ample, begins to fail us. Suppoſe that in this diſtreſs the nation is threatened with an invaſion; a rebellion is ſuſpected or broke out at home; a ſquadron cannot be equipped for want of pay, victuals, or repairs, or even a foreign ſubſidy cannot be advanced. What muſt a prince or miniſter do on ſuch an emergence? The right of ſelf-preſervation is unalienable in every individual, much more in every community: and the folly of our ſtateſmen muſt then be greater than the folly of thoſe who firſt contracted the debt, or, what is more, than that of thoſe who truſted, or continue to truſt this ſecurity, if theſe ſtateſmen have the means of ſafety in their hands, and do not employ them. The funds created and mortgaged, will by that time bring in a large yearly revenue, ſufficient for the defence and ſecurity of the nation: money is perhaps lying in the exchequer, ready for the diſcharge of the quarterly intereſt: neceſſity calls, fear urges, reaſon exhorts,

horts, compaſſion alone exclaims: the money will immediately be ſeized for the current ſervice, under the moſt ſolemn proteſtations, perhaps, of being immediately replaced. But no more is requiſite. The whole fabric already tottering, falls to the ground, and buries thouſands in its ruins. And this I think may be called the natural death of public credit. For to this period it tends as naturally as an animal body to its diſſolution and deſtruction.

Theſe two events ſuppoſed above, are calamitous, but not the moſt calamitous. Thouſands are hereby ſacrificed to the ſafety of millions. But we are not without danger, that the contrary event may take place, and that millions may be ſacrificed for ever, to the temporary ſafety of thouſands. Our popular government perhaps will render it difficult or dangerous for a miniſter to venture on ſo deſperate an expedient as that of a voluntary bankruptcy. And though the houſe of lords be altogether compoſed of the proprietors of lands, and the houſe of commons chiefly, and conſequently neither of them can be ſuppoſed to have great property in the funds: yet the connexions of the members may be ſo great with the proprietors, as to render them more tenacious of public faith than prudence, policy, or even juſtice, ſtrictly ſpeaking, requires. And perhaps to our foreign enemies, or rather enemy, (for we have but one to dread) may be ſo politic as to diſcover, that our ſafety lies in deſpair, and may not therefore ſhew the danger open and bare-faced till it be inevitable. The balance of power in Europe, our grandfathers, our fathers, and we, have all juſtly eſteemed too unequal to be preſerved without our attention and aſſiſtance. But our children, weary with the ſtruggle, and fettered with incumbrances, may ſit down ſecure, and ſee their neighbours oppreſſed and conquered; till at laſt they themſelves and their creditors, lie both at the mercy of the conqueror.

conqueror. And this may properly enough be denominated the violent death of our public credit *.

CUSTOMS, duties upon importation and exportation: they bring in about two millions neat to the exchequer.

CURRENCY. In the colonies, the following table will ſhew the value of 100 *l.* ſterling, in the currency of the colonies underwritten:

Boſton in New England	133⅓
New York, and Eaſt Jerſey	175 or 171⅐
Penſylvania, and Weſt ditto	165 or 160⅐
Virginia	125
Maryland	145
North Carolina	145
South Carolina	700
Georgia	100
Jamaica	140
Barbadoes	135
Nevis, and Montſerrat	175
Antigua, and St. Chriſtophers	165
Canada, and Nova-Scotia †	108 to 110

D.

DEBTS (Public.) At the revolution, the revenue of England was about two millions ſterling, affected by two debts. The firſt was called the bankers debt, contracted by Charles II. and by letters patent charged upon his hereditary exciſe, to the amount of upwards of 1,300,000 *l.* This debt was reduced to one half in the laſt years of king William, and put at 6 per cent. perpetual annuity, to commence from 1706. The other was

* Hume's Eſſays, Vol. I. p. 399.
† Poſtlethwayte, art. Currency.

a debt

a debt of 60,000 *l.* due to that prince's ſervants, neglected to be paid by his ſucceſſor, and diſcharged after the revolution.

At the peace of Ryſwick, the national debt amounted to about 20,000,000.

The revenue of England at the acceſſion of queen Anne, may be ſtated at about 2,272,000 *l.* and the public debts amounted to near 7,000,000: at her death they exceeded 50,000,000.

In fourteen years from the revolution to her acceſſion, the money granted by parliament, partly raiſed on the ſubject, and partly borrowed, or taken credit for, according to the cuſtom of the times, amounted to above 55,000,000. During the 13 years of queen Anne, the money granted by parliament, raiſed on the ſubject, or borrowed as above, amounted to upwards of 80,000,000.

The reign of king George I. though little diſturbed by foreign wars, produced not the ſmalleſt diminution upon the capital of the public debts; and thoſe which ſubſiſted at the peace of Utrecht, ſtood at his death, at *l.* 50,354,953. The ſame taxes ſubſiſted; and every one almoſt was by this time made perpetual, except indeed the land-tax, and malt duty, which to this day continue to be annual grants.

At the end of the year 1738, the public debts amounted to 46,661,767 *l.* bearing 1,962,053 *l.* intereſt. On the 31ſt of December 1748, they amounted to 78,293,313 *l.* bearing 3,005,325 *l.* intereſt. During that war the debts were increaſed above what they were at the end of 1738, by 31,631,546 *l.* ſterl. capital, and by 1,043,272 *l.* of intereſt or annuities.

On the 5th of January 1755, the national funded debt was reduced to 72,289,674 *l.* upon which was paid an annuity of 2,654,500 *l.* At the end of 1763, the funded debt amounted to 130,586,789 *l.* 10 *s.* beſides above 9,000,000 not provided for.

So

So that at the end of laſt war, the national debt exceeded 140,000,000. Hence it appears, that the war occaſioned an augmentation of 58,297,116*l.* upon the funded national debt.

The intereſt of the 140,000,000, was *l.* 4,860,000.

Since that period, about 8,000,000 have been paid off.

DEBTS of FRANCE.

In the year 1761, the intereſt at 2 ½ per cent. of 990,000,000 livres, or *l.* 44,000,000 ſterling of the late king's debts, conſtituted after the bankruptcy of 1720, amounted to	£. 1,100,000
Intereſt at 2 ½ per cent. upon 94,000,000 due to the company of the Indies, upon their old accounts, 1720	104,444
Allowed to the company for paying their dividends	106,666
Annuities on lives, conſtituted during the laſt war	711,111
For paying during ten years, a part of the 990,000,000 of livres of old annuities charged above, and bearing an intereſt of 2 ½ per cent. the yearly ſum of	222,222
To the India company in diſcharge of a debt due to them, for 12 years	88,888
For paying the prizes of the bankers lotteries every year, as they are drawn for 12 years	168,888
Towards making good deficiencies upon the funds appropriated for the war, yearly, till paid	831,111
Ditto upon the funds appropriated to the new Ecole Militaire	53,333

For

For payment of perpetual annuities created during the laſt war	644,444
For making good deficiencies upon the artillery and magazines, during the war 1762, for 12 years, the annual ſum of	80,000
Ditto upon the article of foreign affairs	386,222
Total annual intereſt of the national debt of France	* £. 4,497,329

Hence it appears that France (notwithſtanding the many acts of power practiſed by the court to leſſen, and even annihilate much of their debts, both principal and intereſt) is burthened very nearly as much with intereſt as Great Britain. But in treating of this ſubject, there is another circumſtance comes into the account which deſerves the cloſeſt attention; and of which a clear idea will be formed from the following paſſage from another writer.

To give an account of the national debt of France, we muſt not only take in the eſtimate of what is owing by the king, but alſo what debts are owing by each province, and by every town and community within that province. Theſe particulars, however minute, are objects, which muſt be taken into our view; and then by adding the national and provincial expences and debts together, we ſhall diſcover the accumulated burthens impoſed upon every inhabitant, and upon the kingdom in general.

A recapitulation, or ſummary of the debts incurred in Provence on account of the war, as ſtated in 1749.

To etapes and utenſils provided for the army	368,840

* Political Oeconomy, Vol. II.

To

To the hire of mules and carriages, and loſſes atending the ſame	56,998
To the forage for the troops, as well Spaniſh as French	36,114
To contributions, exactions, and damages	331,917
To overplus expences in repairing the highways	9,565
To repairing the fortifications of Toulon	4,900
To ſums borrowed for the purchaſe of corn	173,250
To deficiency of the revenues for the years 1747, and 1748	69,575
Total	*£. 1,051,162

This debt of upwards of one million ſterling incurred in ſo ſmall a time by a ſingle province, not bigger than one of our middling counties in England, remained to be provided for, either by additional impoſitions levied on themſelves by the authority of their ſtates, or by duties impoſed by the king upon the public in general. Let it be adjuſted either way, let the burthen fall on the individuals, or the communities, or the province, or the government, the conſequences upon the whole muſt be the ſame. If the king pays the debt, the public finances muſt be diminiſhed; if the province pays it, the provincial treaſure will be exhauſted; and if the communities and individuals are not paid, they muſt be ruined and incapable of contributing to any future impoſitions †.

DENMARK. See STATE preſent of, vol. II. p. 263.

DISCOVERIES. The editor of Harris's voyages, ſpeaking of the lying inſinuations againſt

* Shillings and pence are reſerved in the total.

† An account of the ſouthern maritime provinces of France, p. 5. 37.

the

the great Sir Walter Raleigh, ſays, "It is really ſtrange, how far ſuch fooliſh inſinuations as theſe prevail, and how baſely mankind repay the greateſt ſervices that can be done them." When Columbus opened his ſcheme in Portugal, it was reputed a mere fancy, and a contrivance to gain employment; when Fauſtus invented printing, he was treated by ſome as a conjurer, and by others the art was condemned as prejudicial to the book ſcriveners; and at the time Harvey taught the circulation of the blood, he was generally run down; and that, according to the phyſicians of thoſe times, was treated as a ridiculous fiction, which is now regarded as the very foundation of the art of phyſic. The truth ſeems to be, that what is pervaded and clearly comprehended by a firſt-rate genius, is a mere cloud, viſion, or airy appearance in the judgment of common men, who either really forgetting, or affecting not to diſtinguiſh this difference in capacities, would have their judgment take place, and the ignorance of the many rather reputed wiſdom than the ſentiments of a ſingle man: and thus between folly and arrogance, the advantages which might be drawn from ſuch high and rare ſpirits, if due diſtinction were made, are abſolutely loſt, and the diſcoveries in the world of ſcience (always atchieved by ſuch men) poſtponed for ages *.

Nothing does more honour to any age than the ſpirit of diſcovery; whether it be exerted in the regions of ſcience, or practically purſued by adventurous voyagers and travellers. The two preceding centuries were full of inſtances which do honour to numbers of gallant men; but there is little of that ſpirit in the preſent. Until the late voyages round the world, performed by the Engliſh and French, and which do

* Harris's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 216.

them

them infinite credit, we have ſeen nothing that carried the marks of that ſpirit; the expeditions in ſearch of a North-weſt paſſage, were ſo poorly purſued, that they can be reckoned nothing; they rather ſhew the want of enterprize in us, for we gave up the ſearch juſt when it was judged by thoſe who can beſt be depended on, that we had actually diſcovered the paſſage: in the fifteenth century, ſuch a voyage would preſently have been followed by many others till certainty had been gained. This ſpirit of diſcoveries is attended with a thouſand good effects, eſpecially to a maritime nation: it breeds and employs ſeamen, remarkably able; it promotes the employment of ſhipping, it opens new markets for manufactures, it enlarges the ſphere of commerce, and, in a word, advances every great and important intereſt in a ſtate.

It is aſtoniſhing to think of ſuch a bold and adventurous ſpirit, as animated ſuch numbers of men in the laſt and preceding century, to undertakings which would now be thought chimerical. The diſcovery of the continent of America, was immediately followed by planting, trading, and conquering, with innumerable expeditions thither. But what a difference is there between that age and thoſe which have followed! There is at preſent no doubt of a Terra Auſtralis: a great part of it, in the richeſt climates in the world, has been accurately coaſted and laid down in maps. Other vaſt diſcoveries have been made at different times in the South-ſea of lands; yet it is unknown, whether they be iſlands or a continent. Nothing is purſued, no farther notice taken of the greateſt diſcoveries that could ever be made. Maps have been made near two centuries of New Guinea, New-Holland, Carpentaria, and other tracts, part of the Terra Auſtralis, and yet the world has been ſatisfied with ſeeing a broken partial line of coaſt minuted without any prince

prince having the curioſity of making further diſcoveries, to aſcertain the real truth concerning the people, manners, products, &c. Never was there ſuch a contraſt as is to be found in this conduct, from that of the great men, who two hundred years ago made the moſt glorious efforts without half the proſpect of ſucceſs. It is a moſt certain fact, that America contains not any product which theſe unknown countries do not poſſeſs; in ſome the latter are ſuperior, as for inſtance, in ſpices. The beſt judgment to be formed of any country is by the latitudes; indeed, it is a criterion that is in general deciſive. Now the latitude of the tracts already diſcovered to the ſouth, are in the ſame latitude with all the richeſt climates in the reſt of the globe, extending to the line. Who therefore can doubt but that all the products for which the European nations have been ſo eager in their American views are to be found here? Here they are already engroſſed and monopolized by two or three powerful nations, the firſt diſcoverers of them; but here they are open to thoſe who will take the trouble to accept them. Colonies in America have been attended with infinite advantages to the Engliſh and the French; indeed, they proved the great ſupport and foundation of the former's power and opulence, and added infinitely to thoſe of the latter; why therefore ſhould not other nations not yet poſſeſſing the ſame advantages, endeavour to attain them by the ſame means? The only opportunity left in the world lies in the great continent or iſlands to the ſouthward; the navigator who ſhall now attempt their diſcovery, has not the difficulties to encounter which proved obſtacles to Columbus; he does not ſail in purſuit only of an idea; on the contrary, he ſets forth under the compleat knowledge, that ſuch a country as he ſeeks really exiſts; and that he has nothing to do but to follow a route already chalked out, to bring him to

the countries he wiſhes to viſit. If this plain ſtate of the caſe does not ſhew the expediency of the meaſure, I muſt own myſelf utterly ignorant of all the principles of trade and navigation.

The complaint of the want of that ſpirit of enterprize which ſo much diſtinguiſhed the laſt age but one, is the ſtrongeſt proof in the world of the truth of the aſſertion. Every one now who thinks of, or mentions ſuch an idea, immediately recurs to kings, miniſters, councils of trade, or companies; whereas the great things that were done in the fifteenth century were all executed by private people, almoſt ſolely on their own ideas; and with ſuch ſlender means that the ability of a ſingle nobleman exceeds, I apprehend, the whole of what was executed, by half a ſcore of the heroes of old. This was the true ſpirit of enterprize, which brought to light ſuch amazing diſcoveries, and which occaſioned the moſt heroical conduct in almoſt every commander employed. A ſhip of an hundred tons was in that age thought ſufficient for an undertaking which would now require an army and a fleet: ſuch is the difference between the genius that actuated men then and now; and that all this difference lies only in the manners of the ages is certainly known, by the real objects of ſuch expeditions being the ſame now as then, only much leſs hazardous from the improvements that have been made in the art of navigation, and from the examples and experience of ſo many circumnavigators. The difficulties and dangers are therefore leſs, but the bold ſpirit of enterprize is wanting, which was alone ſufficient to level thouſands of difficulties, and face every danger that could ariſe.

The common remark that theſe attempts of new diſcovery not being deſirable to nations who have already colonies and ſettlements enough, I do not think is juſt. All experience tells us that when once a nation

a nation ſits down contented, and ſays to herſelf, we have induſtry enough, we have colonies ſufficient, we want no more trade, let us confine ourſelves to make the moſt of what we have already gained: whenever a nation acts (or rather ceaſes to to be active) on ſuch principles, we may ſafely venture to pronounce her decline at hand. It is impoſſible that induſtry and commerce ſhould be ſtationary; if it ceaſes to advance it will go backward; activity and motion are the ſoul of its ſucceſs; trade never makes ſuch gigantic ſtrides, as in midſt of wars, enterprizes, and a continual buſtle. The caſe of the Dutch is a ſtriking inſtance of this, for the moment they were contented with their preſent poſſeſſions, they began to decline; but their progreſs had been inceſſant from one hardy enterprize to another. The Portugueſe in India are another very ſtriking inſtance of this truth; for after a great number of conqueſts made, ſettlements eſtabliſhed, and colonies planted, thinking they had extended themſelves ſufficiently, and poſſeſſed enough, they then gave over their perpetual enterprizes, and a luxurious effeminacy preſently came upon them. Every one will allow they were right in thinking that they had conquered and ſettled enough, provided all that candour and ſpirit which had gained the Indies, had been exerted to improve them. But this was not the caſe, nor ever can be, for the ſpirit of adventure brings acquiſitions eternally, and the moment you ceaſe to acquire, you begin to loſe; it being the general bent of human nature not to make great exertions when they are unneceſſary. Might I not ſhew that this is not peculiar to forming ſettlements of trade, but that it is the ſame in all the affairs of life. Great ſucceſs in every walk is gained by the bold enthuſiaſm which attends the activity of purſuit, but falls off when a ſeries of fortunate events have

blunted the edge of this activity, and brought on a ſlothful poſſeſſion. This is the caſe in common life, in war, in politicks, in commerce. Empires flouriſh while they boldly go on from one conqueſt to another; but decline inſtantly when they fix bounds, and ſeek only the quiet poſſeſſion of what they have got. It is the nature of man to loſe his powers and his faculties by reſt and inactivity; and, on the contrary, a conſtant and harraſſing fatigue gives him the ability of undertaking and executing what in a ſtate of reſt, he would never have dreamed of being able to effect. It is upon the ſolid foundation of theſe reaſons that I am an enemy to ſentiments which I have often heard in England, concerning the greatneſs of our colonies and commerce; that we have colonies enough and more than we know what to do with; that commerce will be our ruin; that we ſhould content ourſelves with leſs; that moderation is in every thing a virtue. Theſe are moſt erroneous doctrines, which can only ariſe from taking a very ſuperficial view of things. If the men who ſtarted theſe ideas, and complain of the extent of our colonies and the greatneſs of our commerce, had read the hiſtory of all colonies, and all the trade that has been carried on in the world, and had reflected on what they read, they would have made very different deductions. They would then have found that the number of ſettlements are never burthenſome in themſelves, but that all weakneſs muſt be looked for at home. When the Portugueſe ſpread themſelves and built fortreſſes and cities in every corner of the Indies, they did not complain of the burthen of their ſettlements; but now they have, through a want of that ſpirit, made their acquiſitions neglected, and loſt nine-tenths of them, they find the remainder ſuch a weight, as to debate whether they ſhould not abandon them. And if ever England falls into the ſame deluſion, ſhe will

feel

feel the ſame conſequences. Are Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua, burthenſome to this nation? Is the poſſeſſion of Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, and Maryland too much for her? Suppoſe ſhe gives up ſome of them, will ſhe better preſerve and make the greater profit of the reſt? She has found difficulties of many ſorts with her colonies, but it has been with thoſe which are ſituated in a climate like her own, and of courſe have rivalled her; this was a grand error in the firſt ſettling, but wiſe and active meaſures in transferring the inhabitants would do much to remedy it.

But do the poſſeſſion of all theſe colonies and her ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies, preclude the benefit and propriety of planting others in all the diſtant regions of the world, not yet colonized? None but men of narrow views will reply in the affirmative; all others will, on the contrary, aſſert that we ought to take every meaſure to increaſe our ſettlements and extend our commerce, upon the moſt eſſential principle of all, that if we do not go forward our motion will be retrograde, as it is impoſſible in trade to ſtand ſtill. Our great riches, and important colonies, will naturally make many people ſay, is not this enough? For what ſhould we have more? But there is an inactivity in that contempt, which ruſts all the ſprings of enterprize, which opens the door to ſloth, and which is much ſurer to deſtroy, than the moſt wild enthuſiaſm of attempting even impoſſibilities. *——See SOUTHERN CONTINENT.

DOMINGO St, (called alſo Hiſpaniola.) a well known iſland in the French Weſt-Indies. The principal trade for many years conſiſted in tobacco, in which it is ſaid there have been from 60 to 100 ſhips employed; but upon the eſtabliſhing an excluſive farm of this commodity in France,

* Marſhall's Travels, Vol. II. p. 274.

the trade of St. Domingo for that commodity began to decline, and is at laſt ſunk to nothing. Inſtead of tobacco, they fell to planting ſugar; and though at firſt they met with ſome difficulties, which was occaſioned by the too great fertility of the ſoil, yet theſe were ſoon got over, and ſugar became in a ſhort ſpace of time the ſtaple commodity of the iſland: it is, in the opinion of ſome, the very beſt ſugar made in the Weſt-Indies, and generally ſpeaking, yields three or four ſhillings a hundred more than the ſugar from any of their other iſlands, which has occaſioned a ſurprizing progreſs in the cultivation of this commodity in St. Domingo, which in 1726 ſtood thus: there were then two hundred ſugar works in the iſland, which it was computed yielded one with another four hundred hogſheads of ſugar, each hogſhead of about five hundred weight; at this time ſugar yielded upon the ſpot, from twelve to thirteen livres per hundred weight; ſo that from this computation it appears that the ſugar of this iſland produced the French annually about two hundred thouſand pounds, and the indigo is ſaid to produce half as much: they raiſe likewiſe cacao, ginger, and cotton; coffee grows there very well, and ſome are of opinion that cinnamon, clove, and nutmeg trees might be raiſed in this hot climate; but the great profit the inhabitants make at preſent of their ſugar and indigo, hinders them from running into any new improvements; and as the French ſhips which come thither return well laden with the commodities before mentioned, and raw hides, it is very probable they will continue to go on in the way they are in, till ſuch time as the price of the ſugar falls conſiderably. The French are thoroughly perſuaded that there are conſiderable mines of ſeveral ſorts in their part of the iſland; but as one of their writers expreſſes it while the ſugar mine, and the indigo mine produce ſo much

much, and with ſuch certainty, they are never like to look for any other mines.

Corn has been ſown here, but is ſaid to ripen at different times, ſo that it cannot be reaped with any profit, and though their grapes are very fine, yet it is pretended they will neither make wine nor raiſins: but the truth of the matter ſeems to be, that the government diſcourages raiſing either, and this from very juſt and reaſonable motives; for, ſay they, if France takes off all the ſugar and indigo made by the inhabitants of St. Domingo, it is but reaſonable that the people of that colony ſhould take corn and wine from France. We may very well ſuppoſe that for the ſame motive they diſcourage ſilk, of which the Spaniards made great quantities, and very good. It is very apparent from what has been ſaid of this iſland, and what might be ſaid of it, that it is beyond compariſon the moſt conſiderable, and moſt important colony that the French have, which is the reaſon they are ſo deſirous of obtaining the ceſſion of the other half from the Spaniards; which ſome time or other it is more than probable, they will obtain, unleſs the other powers of Europe provide againſt it, by a ſpecial clauſe in their treaties with the houſe of Bourbon, which appears to me a matter of the greateſt conſequence. For ſhould the French once carry their point, and become ſole maſters of this iſland, we may very reaſonably believe, that in the ſpace of fifty or ſixty years it would become the richeſt and moſt valuable country in that part of the word; it would afford them an opportunity of encreaſing their ſtrength to ſuch a degree, as would put it out of the power of any of their neighbours to give them much diſturbance: on the contrary, they would ſoon become formidable both to us and to the Spaniards, which is an evil, which as it has been foreſeen in time,

it is hoped care will be taken to prevent its ever coming to paſs. *

Another writer ‡ ſays, that by a calculation made about the year 1749, the exported produce of St. Domingo was 1,200,000*l.* but that it was much under-rated. — Another ſays, that it produces more than all the Britiſh iſlands ‖: if ſo, the amount is above 2,700,000 *l.*

Theſe ſeveral accounts we have inſerted to ſhew the extreme importance of this iſland: by the advices ſince received it is found that the increaſe has been very rapid, and the event ſo much dreaded by the editor of Harris's voyages has taken place; for the Spaniards, contrary to all the rules of prudence and good ſenſe, have given up their better half of the iſland, ſo that we may expect ſoon to ſee the French ſo firmly rooted as to be immoveable, and ſo enriched by ſuch a vaſt acquiſition as ſoon to recover all the loſſes of the laſt war: ſuch are the effects of all their ſugar iſlands being given up by the peace of 1763.

DUTCH EAST-INDIES. All the affairs of the Eaſt-Indies are in this age ſo much ſought after, and made the object of perpetual enquiry, that I ſhall give a table of the Dutch company's dividends, by which the reader will ſee with how much proſperity, as well as ability, the affairs of it muſt have been managed.

1605 - -	15	per C. in money.
1606 - -	75	
1607 - -	40	

* Harris's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 360.

‡ Account of European ſettlements in America, Vol. II. p. 16.

‖ Importance of the Britiſh Plantations in America, quoted in Political Eſſays, p. 440.

1608

1608	20	per cent in money.
1609	25	
1610	50	
1612	57½	
1615	42½	
1616	62½	
1620	37½	
1623	25	per cent in cloves.
1625	20	per cent in money
1627	12½	
1629	25	
1631	17½	
1633	20	
1635	41½	per cent in cloves
1636	52½	
1637	40	
1638	44	per cent in ſpices
1640	40	per cent in cloves and money
1641	40	per cent in cloves
1642	50	per cent in money
1643	15	per cent in cloves
1644	25	
1646	47½	per cent in money
1648	25	
1649	30	
1650	20	
1651	15	
1652	25	
1653	12½	
1654	15	
1655	12½	
1658	40	
1661	25	
1663	30	
1665	27½	
1668	12½	
1669	12½	

1670	40	per cent in money
1671	60	
1672	15	
1673	$33\frac{1}{3}$	per C. in bonds on Holland
1676	25	per cent in money
1679	$12\frac{1}{2}$	per C. in bonds on Holland
1680	25	per cent in bonds
1681	$22\frac{1}{2}$	
1682	$33\frac{1}{3}$	
1685	40	per cent in money
1686	$12\frac{1}{2}$	
1687	20	
1688	$33\frac{1}{3}$	
1689	$33\frac{1}{3}$	
1690	40	per cent in obligation
1691	20	
1692	25	
1993	20	
1694	20	
1695	25	
1696	15	
1697	15	
1698	30	
1699	35	per cent in money
1700	25	
1701	20	
1702	20	
1703	25	
1704	25	
1705	25	
1706	25	
1707	25	
1708	25	
1709	25	
1710	25	
1711	25	
1712	15	
1713	30	

1714	$33\frac{1}{3}$	per cent in money
1715	40	
1716	40	
1717	40	
1718	40	
1719	40	
1720	40	
	$2602\frac{2}{3}$	

By the calculation here made, we see that during 63 years the company have divided $1749\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. which amounts to about $22\frac{5}{9}$ per cent. of the capital stock, one year with another.

The company maintains and employs usually in its storehouses more than 1200 workmen, as well for the building as fitting out ships; fifty workmen are yearly employed in picking and cleansing the spiceries. Their general at Batavia commands upwards of 50,000 men, exclusive of the fleets, at his disposal*.

They employ between seventy and eighty ships; forty outwards bound, and above thirty homeward ||. In the first go 8, or 9000 men, in the latter 3000 †.

Their spices amount to

Cloves, 1,000,000*lb.* at 10*s.*	£. 500,000
Nutmegs, 800,000*lb.* 6*s.* 6*d.*	275,000
Mace, 200,000 18*s.*	180,000
Cinnamon, 1,000,000, 10*s.*	500,000
Pepper, 5000 tons, 1*l.* 3*d.*	700,000
Total §	£. 2,155,000

* Postlethwayte. Art. Dutch East-India company.
|| Modern Universal History, Vol. X. p. 468.
† Harris's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 293.
§ Political Essays, p. 539, and the authors quoted.

Upon

Upon the immenſe profit of this monopoly, I ſhall remark, that it is enjoyed to the great prejudice of the reſt of the world, by this company grubbing up in the well known manner all the ſpice trees in the neighbouring iſlands to the Moluccas: but the ſucceſs this ſyſtem has met with is wholly owing to the aſtoniſhing negligence, or rather ſupineneſs of all other European companies; and this is one effect of the Aſiatic trade being ſo generally in the hands of companies. Private people would preſently penetrate into thoſe unknown countries and iſlands upon the coaſts of New Holland and New Guinea; be able to form plantations of theſe ſpices, as well as the Dutch; or if that was found difficult, to carry off a number of trees, and plant them elſewhere in a ſimilar climate. It has been lately reported that the French have done this in the iſle of Bourbon.

E.

EAST-INDIA COMPANY. This corporation was originally formed towards the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth, their charter bearing date in 1599. It was renewed by king James I. and alſo by Charles II. in 1662, who added largely to their privileges. This is the foundation of the company, and was confirmed by James II.

The firſt capital was no more than 369,891*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.* which in 1676 was doubled, and became 739,782*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* which, if 963,639*l.* the profits of the company, to the year 1685, be added, the whole ſtock will be, 1,703,422*l.*

In 1698 there was a new company eſtabliſhed, the old one continuing at the ſame time till 1701. The fund

fund of this new company became ſo conſiderable, and ſubſcriptions were carried on with ſuch facility, that in leſs than two years the company put to ſea forty ſhips equipped for its commerce; which was double the number employed by the old company, in the moſt flouriſhing time of its traffic; and they ſent annually at leaſt a million ſterling in ſpecie to the Indies, whereas the old company had never ſent above 500,000*l.*

In 1702, the two companies were united; after which they had a ſecond charter granted till 1730; which in the 17th of George II. was continued till the 25th of March 1780; when on three years notice, and repayment of the capital ſtock borrowed by the government, and the annuities, the company's right to the ſole and excluſive trade to the Eaſt-Indies, was to ceaſe and determine.

The debt due from the government to the company is 4,200,000*l.*

In regard to the oeconomy and policy of this company, all perſons without exception are admitted members thereof, as well foreigners as natives, men and women; with this circumſtance that 500*l.* in the ſtock of the company, gives the owner a vote in the general courts, and 2000*l.* qualifies him to be choſen a director. The directors are twenty-four in number, including the chairman and deputy chairman, who may be re-elected for four years ſucceſſively. They have ſalaries of 150*l.* a year, and the chairmen 200*l.* a-year. The meetings or court of directors are to be held at leaſt once a week; but are commonly oftener, being ſummoned as occaſion requires *,

* By the 13th of George III. it was enacted, that at the next general election, inſtead of 24 there ſhall be choſen 6 directors for the term of one year; 6 for two years; 6 for three years; 6 for four years, and ſo hereafter yearly.

Every

ENGLAND. It will probably be agreeable to our readers to give the heads of the various accounts which have been publiſhed concerning this kingdom, particularly modern ones.

EXTENT.

It contains 49,450 ſquare miles, and 33,000,000 acres.

PRODUCTS, &c.

Acres of cultivated land	32,000,000
Do. of arable land	16,000,000
Do. of graſs	16,000,000
Number of farms	111,498
Rental	16,000,000
Value of the ſoil at 33½ years purchaſe	536,000,000

The rental here ſpecified is excluſive of that of houſes. How much higher they would carry it is a queſtion that can only be conjectured; but conſidering the amazing riches of the city of London, and the flouriſhing increaſing ſtate of ſo many other cities and towns, with the prodigious number of ſplendid as well as convenient country ſeats, that are every where ſpread over the kingdom, the rent of them muſt be very conſiderable; and undoubtedly raiſe the above ſum to conſiderably more than twenty millions. When the houſes of London were calculated at one hundred thouſand, the rental was ſuppoſed to amount to two millions; now they are an hundred

Every proprietor poſſeſſed of 3000 l. capital ſtock, ſhall be intitled to two votes at any election; if poſſeſſed of 6000l. he ſhall have three votes; and when poſſeſſed of 10,000 l. is intitled to four votes.

After October 1, 1773, no proprietor ſhall vote at any election of directors in reſpect of ſtock, amounting to leſs than 1000 l. nor until he ſhall have been poſſeſſed of ſuch ſtock twelve calender months.

and fifty thouſand, it ought by the ſame rule to amount to three millions, though I believe that ſum beyond the truth; it is an average of 20l. per houſe; but thoſe of the whole kingdom muſt exceed, by theſe rules, with proper allowances, five millions, or make the rental twenty-one millions; which, after all circumſtances are conſidered, particularly the rental of this town being probably under that of the whole kingdom, muſt, I think, yet remain under the truth. Five millions a year at twenty years purchaſe amounts to one hundred millions; which makes the total value 636,000,000.

Suppoſe that ſtock yields a profit to the owners of 3 per cent. their annual income then amounts to 19,080,000l.

At $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. it comes to 22,260,000l.

At 4 per cent. it amounts to 25,440,000.

It certainly muſt be a matter of vaſt conſequence to keep the property of the kingdom on the increaſe, which I take to be the ſureſt mark of a flouriſhing people. Now it is viſible from this table, that agriculture forms one of the grand pillars of the riches of the ſtate; improvements in it increaſe property, and conſequently income, and ought therefore to receive from politicians and the great, all poſſible encouragement. The riſe of rent of one ſhilling per acre, increaſes the rental of the lands of England 1,600,000 l. a year.

STOCK in HUSBANDRY.

Live ſtock	36,480,000
Implements	10,080.000
Furniture	11,200,000
Sundry articles	35,040,000
Number of draft cattle	1,170,729
Cows	1,337,976
Fatting beaſts	1,003,482

Young

Young cattle	2,229,960
Sheep	28,989,480
Value of draft cattle at 10l.	11,707,290
Ditto cows, at 7l.	9,365,832
Ditto fatting beafts, 10l.	10,034,820
Ditto young cattle, at 4l.	8,919,840
Ditto fheep, at 10s.	14,494,740
Value of fwine, at 15s.	2,508,705
Poultry, at 3l. per farm	334,494
Total of live ftock by thefe valuations	57,365,721
Implements	10,080,000
Furniture	11,200,000
Sundries	35,040,000
Total ftock	113,685,721
We may ftate the general ftock at	110,000,000
Suppofe this ftock pays an intereft of 10 per cent. the profit of agriculture is	11,000,000
At 12 per cent it is	13,200,000
At 15 per cent	16,500,000
At 20 per cent	22,000,000

PRODUCTS.

Acres of wheat and rye	3,066,195
Product of ditto	qrs. 9,198,585
Value at 38 s.	£. 17,476,310
Acres of barley	2,898,948
Product	qrs. 11,595,792
Value at 17 s.	£. 9,856,423
Acres of oats	2,285,709
Product	qrs. 10,285,690
Value at 15 s.	£. 7,714,267
Acres of peafe	1,282,227
Product	qrs. 3,766,538

Value

Value at 24 s.	l. 4,519,865
Acres of beans	668,988
Product	qrs. 2,592,328
Value at 24 s.	l. 3,110,793
Acres of turnips	1,560,972
Value at 46 s.	l. 4,110,559
Acres of clover	724,737
Value at 40 s.	l. 1,449,474
Total product of arable crops, exclusive of potatoes, cabbages, &c.	l. 48,237,691
Product of the cows at £. 5. 6. 3	l. 7,107,996
Profit on the sheep at 10 s.	l. 14,494,740
Weight of the wool at 5 lb.	lb. 144,947,400
Value at 5 ¾d.	l. 694,539
Profit on the fatting beasts at 7 l.	l. 7,024,374
Profit on the young cattle at 20 s.	l. 2,229,960
Profit on swine at 15 s.	l. 2,508,705
Profit on poultry	l. 334,494
Total product of live stock	l. 33,700,269

And this sum is the total product of grass lands, exclusive of hay sold to towns.

Suppose this makes it the sum of	l. 35,000,000
Total product of the soil except as before excepted, and exclusive of woods, parks, chases, &c.	l. 83,237,691

There is no rule by which even to conjecture the product of woods, and that of scattered trees and hedge wood: all together must amount to a very considerable sum

Total product	83,237,691
Ditto expenditure of husbandry	65,000,000
	l. 18,237,691

Which remainder should be the farmer's profit; or that sum out of which he lives, maintains his family, pays his market expences, and all superfluities: it amounts to something above a rent.

INCOME *of the* SOIL.

The landlord's rent	£. 16,000,000
The tenant's profit	18,237,691
The clergy	5,500,000
The induſtrious poor, (being the amount of labour)	14,596,937
The non-induſtrious poor (being the amount of rates,	866,666
Intereſt of money	4,400,000
Total of theſe ſeveral incomes ariſing from the ſoil	59,601,294

It is however to be remarked, that theſe incomes are excluſive of thoſe very conſiderable receipts which manufacturers draw from all theſe claſſes, amounting perhaps to half the total.

As a continuation of this calculation we might further remark, that the product of the ſoil may be divided into two parts, productive and non-productive income. The firſt includes all thoſe ſums that form the income of different claſſes of men; the ſecond ſuch as may be ranked under the contrary head, viz. maintenance of horſes, &c.

The diviſion is not eaſily calculated, for part of the above ſums are of one ſort, and part of the other; ſuch as wear and tear, &c.

From the product of the ſoil ariſes every thing elſe; it is the total which yields an income to ſo many ranks of people; it is the foundation if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, whereon the kingdom is built: the riches, income, and population of the ſtate, evidently depend on this; increaſe the product of the ſoil, and you inevitably increaſe all the ſeveral incomes ariſing from it: you add to the ſtock of riches, and increaſe the number of ſouls dependant on agriculture, all which effects are of the moſt important kind.

kind. Theſe conſequences will plainly appear if we attend a moment to the progreſs of product.

The farmers receive in the firſt place the total of this amount: out of it they diſpenſe income to the other claſſes; in rent to the landlords; in the amount of labour to the induſtrious poor; in rates to the non-induſtrious poor; and in tythes to the clergy. Their other expences in various inſtances maintain many other ranks of people; and the ſurplus remains for their own profit, not to lay up as ſavings, but to maintain themſelves and families in neceſſaries and ſuperfluities; that is chiefly in the conſumption of manufactures.

We have found the total of product to be better than eighty-three millions: now ſuppoſe it ſhould by an increaſe of good huſbandry, be carried to an hundred millions, or any other ſuppoſed amount, in what manner would this increaſe act upon theſe various ranks of people? It would not (as ſome writers have imagined) center only in the farmer's profit, although ſuch a circumſtance would be the moſt favourable to the ſtate. The clergy would at once come in for their ſhare of the increaſe; the landlords would do the ſame in a riſe of rent; for high profits of agriculture, in this reſpect, is but another word for competition for farms. The very term increaſe of product, in ſome meaſure, implies an increaſe of labour; that is, of income to the induſtrious poor: ſo that all ranks come in with the farmer for their ſhare of an increaſe of product. His profit is doubtleſs increaſed, but is not that at the ſame time, increaſing the income of all thoſe manufacturers among whom he neceſſarily expends his ſurplus?

GENERAL INCOME.

AGRICULTURE.

	£.
The income from products amounts to	60,000,000
Suppoſe woods, timber, inland fiſheries, parks, mines of all ſorts yield a product of	6,000,000
	66,000,900

MANUFACTURES.

The average of five accounts now before me makes the value of the labour added to our wool to amount to	7,000,000
The labour beſtowed on leather, excluſive of the conſumption in the article of wear and tear in huſbandry, conſiſting of ſhoes, breeches, coaches, chairs, harneſs, &c. ſuppoſe	4,000,000
The manufactures of lead, tin, iron, and copper is one of the firſt if not the greateſt in the kingdom, ſuppoſe the labour is	6,000,000
Flax and hemp, glaſs, paper, and porcelaine, ſuppoſe	2,000,000
Silk and cotton muſt be conſiderably more than	1,500,000
Beſides theſe articles there are all the earnings of the whole body of artizans that are ſcattered (except in the hard-ware way) ſuch as carpenters, maſons, cabinet-makers, upholſterers, glaziers, &c. with an infinite number of ſhop-keepers: the whole aggregate of labour, ex-	

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cluſive of the preceding manufacrers, muſt be prodigiouſly great: however, that we maynot exaggerate, let us ſuppoſe it, including all trades not before ſpecified, at	£. 6,500,000
	27,000,000

COMMERCE.

The amount of the income ariſing from commerce, can only be conjectured: but when we conſider that it includes not only that of the merchants, but alſo of all the numerous bodies employed by them, ſuch as ſailors, ſhip-builders, boatmen, writers, porters, ſervants, with a vaſt number of et ceteras, it muſt certainly be very conſiderable; ſuppoſe	10,000,000
The public revenue, excluſive of the intereſt paid to foreign traders	9,000,000
The intereſt of ſavings in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, excluſive of the public funds, which are included in the laſt article, and the ſums borrowed by farmers, ſuch as mortgages, bond-debts, &c. ſuppoſe	5,000,000
Law, phyſic, the fine arts, literature &c. cannot create an income of leſs than	5,000,000

RECAPITULATION.

The ſoil	66,000,000
Manufactures	27,000,000
Commerce	10,000,000
Public revenue	9,000,000

Sums at intereſt	5,000,000
Law, Phyſic, &c.	5,000,000
Total income of England	£. 122,000,000

Now the moſt inattentive eye muſt be able, at the ſlighteſt glance, to ſpecify abundance of various kinds of income omitted in this table; but I by no means aim at an accuracy in a matter that requires it not: all I would endeavour to ſhew is, that the income of the whole people is a very great ſum, compared to all public wants; and that it, in all probability, amounts to conſiderably more than an hundred millions.

But it is ſaid that all theſe are ideas, viſions, figures, calculations, not facts. It is true in this general view I have dealt in ſuppoſitions, but I draw them from clear and indiſputable facts: I may have erred in many particulars, but the probable errors are not on the exaggerated ſide; all theſe incomes undoubtedly exiſt, and muſt amount to vaſt ſums, though not preciſely thoſe which I have minuted: however, the moſt common obſervation confirms the truth of theſe calculations. Throw your eye around the ſphere of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and general expence; does not the view preſent the picture of a rich and flouriſhing ſtate? Does not each claſs of the people find money for all purpoſes? Are not the amazing expences of the age common topics of converſation? and certainly the expence does not exiſt without income. View the improvements of huſbandry every where carried on: ſee the buildings, the palaces I might ſay, erected in almoſt every village of the kingdom: who wants money when a park is to be ornamented, temples to be raiſed, or vallies floated with water? View the navigations, the roads, the harbours, and all other public works: take

notice

notice of the ſpirit with which manufactures are carried on. What part of the commerce of this kingdom feels a languor, which ſpeaks a general decay? Move your eye on which ſide you will, you behold nothing but great riches, and yet greater reſources. To what corner we muſt fly to ſeek the ſigns of a declining ſtate I know not. In every part where I have been, I have ſeen none but the ſtrongeſt marks of a rich, a happy, and a flouriſhing people. If ſuch an united effect does not tend powerfully to confirm the truth and moderation of the preceding eſtimates, I know nothing that can. Nor let it be forgotten, that out of three kingdoms and a conſiderable principality, I have confined myſelf to England alone *

For particulars of the commerce of England, ſee COMMERCE.

SHIPPING and SEAMEN.

	Ships.
The coaſting trade of 150 tons	3000
The plantation trade of 300 tons	433
The Newfoundland fiſhery of 200 tons	171
Eaſt-India trade of 300 tons ‖	25
Total of theſe articles	3629
Tonage of the coaſting trade	450,000
——— plantation ditto	130,000
——— fiſhery	34,200
——— Eaſt-Indies	7,500
Total	621,700
Seamen of the coaſting trade	30,000
——— plantation ditto	12,300

* Young's Six Months Tour, Vol. I. p. 345 to 395.

‖ We have before remarked, thoſe ſhips are more numerous and of heavier burthe

——————— Newfoundland fiſhery	7,500
——————— all other fiſheries	12.500
——————— Eaſt-India ditto	2,500
Total	64.800
Anderſon ‡ conjectures the number of ſhips trading beyond ſea to be	3000
To theſe if we add the coaſters, there will be	3000
The total is all employed by Britain	6000
And ſuppoſing the medium tonage of the latter to be 200, the amount is	600,000
That of the coaſters	450,000
Total tonage	1,050,000
Suppoſe the average ſeamen in the foreign trading ſhips to be 10, the total is	30,000
The coaſters	30,000
The home fiſheries	12,500
Total ſeamen	72,500

I have no conception that the number of ſeamen can be leſs than this. I ſhould rather have imagined them to be above 100,000; and the immenſe trade carried on during the laſt war while the government had 70,000 in their pay, confirms this ſuppoſition; but as the above numbers are the reſult, ſome of authorities, and others of particular conjectures, they may poſſibly be thought more likely to be near the truth than any general conjecture. The preſent complement on board the royal navy makes this number up near 100,000. A modern author above quoted makes the coaſting trade alone to maintain this

‡ Hiſtorical Deduction.

number;

number: but that is prodigious; and yet he is one of the beſt informed, and moſt accurate of my authorities, and does not ſeem at all to be given to exaggeration.

I cannot well conceive the total in private ſervice to be leſs than 100,000.

Some writers have calculated the tonage at not above 500,000 tons; but that is manifeſtly too low: the ſlighteſt reflection is ſufficient to overturn ſuch ideas. Former authorities on this head are but little to be attended to; for there is very great reaſon to believe the tonage ſince the laſt war greater than ever it was before, in time of peace. Others calculate the number of ſhips ‡, foreign traders, and coaſters at 4000, and the tonage at 320,000; but this is an evident contradiction, for the medium is only 80 tons, which alone is ſufficient to invalidate the account. This writer calculates the coaſters at juſt half the total.

The total tonage of foreign ſhips trading to England on a medium of the years 1745, 1747, and 1749, was 86,094 †.

Whenever calculations that are formed upon quite different principles, or foundations, happen to coincide, it is at leaſt a ſtrong evidence that truth is not far off.

It is calculated that the total of commerce is carried on by 20000 ſhips §. Now, the very ingenious Dr. Campbell ‖ tells us that if the ſhipping of Europe be divided into twenty parts, Great Britain hath ſix. This proportion is exactly 6000 ſail, which is the total in the above general account.

‡ The caſe of the Britiſh merchants, owners of ſhips and others.

† Poſtlethwayte's Dict. Art. Navigation.

§ Tableau Oeconomique, tom. 3. p. 5. Obſervations Oeconomiques, tom. 2. p. 200.

‖ Preſent State of Europe, p. 21.

MANU-

MANUFACTURES.

	£.
Amount of the woollen manufacture	15,700,529
——Leather	11,725,000
——Flax and hemp	2,500,000
——Glaſs, paper, and porcelain	1,500,000
——Silk	3,025,000
——Cotton	900,000
I apprehend the number employed by lead, tin, iron, &c. to be about 900,000. If they earn one with another 10 l. a head, the amount will be	9,000,000
Total	44,350,529

	People
The woollen manufacture employs	1,557,834
Leather	892,500
Lead, tin, iron and copper	900,000
Flax and hemp	200,000
Silk and cotton	475,000
Paper, glaſs, and porcelain	225,000
Total	4,250,334

If we deduct about 192,500 from leather, 100,000 from iron, &c. and all the hemp, the remainder 3,757,834, I ſhould aſſign as England's ſhare *.

EUROPE. That this is beyond all compariſon, the moſt happy and valuable quarter of the globe, is a thing ſo much taken for granted, that perhaps few would think a man much in the wrong who ſhould conceive himſelf under no obligation to prove it; but I muſt confeſs this has never been

* Political Eſſays, p. 192. 197.

my

my ſentiment; ſince in order to judge right, I am perſuaded that in politics as well as philoſophy, we ſhould not admit any thing till it is proved, becauſe there is no reaſoning with the ſmalleſt degree of certainty, where we are not ſatisfied that our principles are ſound. In the firſt place then theſe high prerogatives are not derived to Europe from its ſize, ſince it is the leaſt of all the four parts into which the globe is divided; and as it may be of ſome uſe to know theſe proportions, and becauſe I do not remember to have ſeen them ſet down any where with tolerable exactneſs, I think it may not be amiſs to give them here.

If we ſuppoſe the whole habitable world to be divided into three hundred parts, Europe will contain of theſe twenty-ſeven; Aſia, one hundred and one; Africa, eighty-two; and America ninety. In reſpect to people, though ſhe certainly excels Africa and America, yet ſhe falls very far ſhort of Aſia, if we may depend upon the accounts which have been given us by the beſt and moſt judicious travellers. In reference to riches, her gold and ſilver mines are not to be compared with thoſe of the other quarters of the world; ſhe has few or no precious ſtones, ſtrictly ſpeaking, found in any of the countries which ſhe contains; and as to ſpices and perfumes, we know very well from whence they are brought.

At firſt ſight theſe remarks may ſeem to deſtroy the common opinion, but when more cloſely examined they will be found to confirm it; for when we ſay one country is greater, more powerful, and more conſiderable than another, we mean that it is ſo in reſpect to the condition of its inhabitants: and in this ſenſe we may very ſafely affirm it of Europe.

For with regard to territory, if we conſider what the Spaniards, the Engliſh, the Portugueſe, the French, and the Dutch poſſeſs in other parts of the world,

world, we may venture to aſſert, that it is equal if not ſuperior to Aſia; and if it contains not ſo many people within its own bounds, yet it may be truly ſaid to command more. As to riches, it is notorious that the European nations enjoy in conſequence of their trade, all that nature has beſtowed upon the other parts of the world. Thus we ſee that without any prepoſſeſſion in favour of that part of the globe in which we are ſeated, we have good cauſe to maintain that it ſurpaſſes all the reſt; and that we may with reaſon admit for truth what cuſtom has taught us to believe, that Europe is indeed the happieſt, the moſt powerful, and in reſpect to arts, arms, and trade by very far the moſt conſiderable portion of the globe.

After ſettling this point, it is natural to deſcend to thoſe general heads whence the grandeur, and which is of no leſs conſequence, the ſtability of the governments of Europe ariſe, and on which the power and ſafety of its ſeveral parts depend; which that we may not multiply ſuch articles beyond what is neceſſary, we ſhall confine to three heads, viz. Religion, trade, and the union of political intereſts; and when we have treated particularly of theſe, the general ſtate of Europe may be thoroughly and perfectly underſtood.

To begin then with religion: though it is true that there are ſome Pagans in the Swediſh and Muſcovite Lapland, a vaſt multitude of Jews ſcattered through almoſt every country, and that the Mahometan religion has the ſanction of public authority in the grand ſeignor's dominions, yet the prevailing religion is Chriſtianity, divided indeed into a great number of ſects, but falling under the three following capital diſtinctions; viz. Chriſtians of the Greek church, Chriſtians in communion with the church of Rome, and Proteſtants. I muſt confeſs it has always appeared to me in the light of

a moſt difficult taſk, to ſettle the weight and proportion of theſe different intereſts; and yet this is a point that ought not to be hurried over, becauſe the promoting, ſupporting, and extending their ſeveral religious ſyſtems, makes a great part of the buſineſs, and is a principal point in the policy of moſt of the European powers; and without a competent underſtanding of the queſtion I propoſed as to the ſtrength or weight of each party, the ſtate of Europe can never be thoroughly or juſtly underſtood; and therefore how thorny or perplexed ſoever this point may be, it is incumbent upon me to diſcuſs it.

As to the Chriſtians of the Greek church, they have for their head, whoever wears the imperial diadem of Ruſſia, the princes of Moldavia and Walachia are alſo of this religion, and ſo are the greateſt part of the Chriſtians ſubject to the grand ſeignior, beſides multitudes that are ſcattered thro' Hungary, Poland, Tranſylvania, and ſome parts of Germany. On the whole, after the ſtricteſt computation, and moſt mature reflection, I am apt to believe that the people of this perſuaſion are at leaſt equal in number to the papiſts. If any one ſhould object that there are many great kingdoms, the inhabitants of which are in communion with the church of Rome: I muſt reply that the extent of their dominions taken together is not more than half of the territories poſſeſſed by the Czarina in Europe only; and though it be true, that thoſe are thinly inhabited, and that her Ruſſian majeſty's ſubjects are of all religions, yet ſurely the Greek Chriſtians under the yoke of the Turk, if they were removed into her countries, would go near to render her empire as populous as any of the kingdoms governed by popiſh princes.

I might add ſome other conſiderations upon this ſubject, ſuch as, that we are leſs acquainted with the

the countries inhabited by the Chriſtians of the Greek church, than with thoſe inhabited by Papiſts, which may render us leſs capable judges of this queſtion. But the reaſon of the thing, when ſtrictly conſidered, will overcome all theſe prejudices, and convert every competent judge to my opinion. The importance of this enquiry will be the better underſtood if we reflect a little on the diſputes that ſo frequently happen between the Ruſſians and the Turks. The former are certainly by much the moſt dangerous enemies that the Ottoman empire hath to fear, becauſe the beſt part of its Chriſtian ſubjects are naturally inclined to the Ruſſians, whereas they are much better pleaſed to live under the power of the Turks, than to fall under that of the Auſtrians, merely becauſe the latter are papiſts, which implies a diſpoſition to perſecute, reſtrained by nothing but the vicinity of ſo formidable a power as the Turk; but when the domeſtic affairs of the Muſcovites are once ſettled, and the houſe of Holſtein in peaceable poſſeſſion of the imperial throne, as well as of that of Sweden, it is very eaſy to diſcern, the firſt fair opportunity that offers will endanger the fall of the Turkiſh empire, or at leaſt the loſs of her dominions in Europe, chiefly from the crown of Ruſſia's being conſidered as the remnant of the old Conſtantinopolitan empire, and the antient and natural head of the Greek church.

We come now to examine the ſtrength and power of the Romaniſts, which is certainly very great, and the common opinion is, that it daily gains ground. If there be any truth in this, it muſt be principally owing to their having a viſible head, I mean the Pope, cloathed with that ſort of authority which is fitteſt to ſupport and extend the tenets of religion. The reformation, though it has much weakened the ſpiritual power and temporal ſtrength of the holy father, has notwithſtanding furniſhed him

him with many advantages of another kind; or rather the policy of the church of Rome hath turned the views of Proteſtants to her own advantage, by affecting a paternal care for the princes and ſtates of her communion, aſſiſting the authority of the ſtate in times of peace, and interpoſing her authority as a common mediator whenever wars break out amongſt them. This is certainly a benefit to them, and from their being convinced of this, ſprings the reſpect paid to his holineſs by the wiſeſt adminiſtrations in all popiſh countries. It is from the ſame principles that the propagation of the Popiſh religion is looked upon by them as the higheſt point of policy, from which they are ſure never to depart; and therefore we need not wonder, that they have made, and continue ſtill very likely to make, conſiderable acquiſitions.

It may be looked upon however as a thing certain, that notwithſtanding all the endeavours that have been uſed during the laſt two centuries, to weaken the Proteſtant intereſt, it is ſtill very conſiderable, very able to ſupport itſelf againſt the force at leaſt, if not the frauds, of all its enemies; neither after all, is it ſo much weakened as ſome out of fear, and others from worſe intentions have aſſerted; for we are to conſider that the countries in which the reformed religion is profeſſed are moſt of them very populous, carry on a great trade, and have many colonies, by which means they propagate their religious ſentiments almoſt without attending to it.

In computing the ſtrength of the papiſts, it is uſual, and indeed proper to reckon the Emperor firſt, becauſe he precedes all the princes of that communion, and adds ſomewhat to the credit of this religion by his authority in Germany. Yet having few or no ſubjects, as a monarch he ought not to be conſidered as having, in this reſpect, any weight, comparable to the lofty title of Emperor of Germany,

many, and king of the Romans. The next popiſh power is France, then Spain, and next Portugal; though the king of Poland's European dominions are more extended than Spain and Portugal taken together. After them follow the king of Sardinia, the Pope, the princes and ſtates of Italy, with ſuch of the Swiſs cantons as are papiſts; and this brings us back again to Germany, where we find all the dominions of the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, together with the electors Bavarian and Palatine, beſides the ſpiritual electors and other princes and ſtates of the ſame communion.

Of the Proteſtant powers We are without doubt the moſt conſiderable. Next follow Sweden, Denmark, and Pruſſia, the United Provinces, the Swiſs cantons and their confedrates; then the ſubjects of the elector of Saxony, though their prince be a papiſt, the elector of Hanover, the duke of Courland, and all the leſſer princes and ſtates of Germany of our communion. According to the neareſt computation that can be made, with reſpect to territory in Germany, the proportion between papiſts and proteſtants may be as ten to eight: but in point of number of people, I apprehend the proteſtants are at leaſt equal; and throughout the reſt of Europe, I conceive the proportion in point of territory to be as eight to ſeven; but as to people, I think there is good reaſon to believe that the proteſtants are rather more numerous than the papiſts, becauſe the proteſtant countries are inconteſtibly much fuller of people.

In the north for example though Poland be very populous, yet it is certain that one half of the people are not papiſts, and at leaſt one third of them proteſtants, whereas in Sweden and Denmark there are few or no papiſts; in Germany again all the great trading cities, though crouded with inhabitants

are

are proteſtants. In Italy indeed the papiſts are in a manner without mixture; but this is balanced by the number of people in Great Britain. In order to cut the matter ſhort, and to ſet this point in the cleareſt light poſſible, I ſhall here preſent the reader with a very curious table, which will ſerve to regulate his judgment not only in reſpect to this, but with regard to many other ſubjects of importance.

Ruſſia	10	13
Germany	3	53
Sweden	3	63
Poland	3	39
France	1	7
Spain	1	81
Turkey	3	18
Portugal	0	36
Spaniſh Netherlands	0	18
United Provinces	0	11
Swiſſerland	0	17
Denmark	1	49
Italy	1	19

In order to explain this, I need only ſay, that the proportion between Ruſſia and Great Britain is as 10—13 to 1; that is, Ruſſia is 10 times as large as Great Britain, and 13 parts of 100 more; and at the ſame time it points out the comparative ſtrength of Britain to other nations, it alſo ſhews the proportions of theſe countries to each other.

The next thing to be conſidered is the trade of Europe, which has undergone in the courſe of ages very great alterations.

The progreſs of the Dutch was amazingly quick: for in the ſpace of little more than half a century, from having hardly any ſhips at all, they came to have more than all the reſt of Europe put together.

But ſince that time the inhabitants of Great Britain, by extending their commerce, and eſpecially by cheriſhing and augmenting their colonies, have certainly raiſed their maritime force to an equality at leaſt in every reſpect with the Dutch, as all intelligent writers, and particularly foreigners agree. And this of late induced the partizans of the French court to ſuggeſt to the ſtates, that they are in more danger from the growing trade and naval power of Great Britain than from the ambitious deſigns of any of their neighbours beſides.

Yet the French themſelves have of late years laboured with great diligence, not only to raiſe a maritime force, but to extend their trade into all parts of the world, in which they have been very ſucceſsful; for though the two laſt general wars ruined their navy, yet their commerce is even at this juncture, or was at leaſt before the breaking out of the laſt war (that of 1741,) in a better condition than ever. So that the maritime affairs of Europe have in this laſt century ſuffered a very great change, though very probably they may ſuffer ſtill a greater before its period.

The like attention to commerce and maritime power has within this fifty years appeared in almoſt every other nation in Europe: the Swedes and Danes have ſet up Eaſt-India companies; the Ruſſians have opened a new and advantageous traffic as well on the Caſpian as on the Black-ſea. The houſe of Auſtria ſhewed a great deſire of reviving the antient commerce of the Low Countries, but when that was found impracticable, made ſome excellent regulations in theory, at leaſt at Trieſte and Fiume. The Genoeſe have within theſe few years erected a company of aſſurance, on purpoſe to encourage their ſubjects to venture upon long voyages, and if poſſible to recover their old reputation as a maritime power. Nay, even the Spaniards themſelves, who have

have ſlept for ſuch a number of years, have at laſt opened their eyes, erected ſome, and have under conſideration, the erecting ſeveral other companies, for the encouragement and extenſion of trade through their European and American dominions.

We may, I think, ſafely infer from theſe inſtances that the navigation and ſhipping of the Europeans in general is, within the laſt fifty years, greatly increaſed; and as a farther proof of this, we need only conſider the numerous fleets and great embarkations of different powers, ſuch as the Ruſſians, Swedes, and Danes in the North, the invaſion of Sicily and Africa by the Spaniards, and many others. Sir Walter Raleigh made a very ingenious calculation of the maritime power in Europe in his time, and Sir William Petty, from better lights, gave us another calculation, which has been conſidered as the ſtandard ever ſince He thought the Dutch had about 900,000 tons in ſhipping, Great Britain 500,000, Sweden, Denmark, and the trading towns in Germany 250,000, Portugal and Italy 250,000 likewiſe, and France about 100,000. But, ſince that time things have altered very much, both with reſpect to us and other powers; inſomuch that I am fully perſuaded our ſhipping was before the breaking out of the laſt war, at leaſt double to what it might be at the concluſion of the peace of Utrecht. It is, I muſt freely acknowledge, a very difficult thing to pretend to give with any degree of exactneſs, the preſent proportions of maritime power; however, till a better can be formed, I flatter myſelf the following table may have its uſes.

If the ſhipping of Europe be divided into twenty parts, then,

Great Britain, &c. hath - - -	6
The United Provinces - -	6

The ſubjects of the northern crowns	2
The trading cities and ſea-ports of Germany and the Auſtrian Netherlands	1
France	2
Spain and Portugal	2
Italy and the reſt of Europe	1

Beſides ſhewing the ſtate of commerce at this day, there is another great uſe to which this computation may be applied, and that is by way of ſtandard to ſee how far one power riſes or another ſinks in this reſpect; for if ever it ſhould come to paſs that theſe proportions ſhould vary conſiderably, it is plain that this muſt produce very great and ſenſible alterations in the general ſtate of affairs.

Thus for inſtance if the houſe of Burbon ſhould ever acquire as great a proportion of trade and naval force as either of the maritime powers, it would be an acquiſition of much more conſequence, than any they have hitherto made, in point of territories or dominion; but at the ſame time we muſt be aware of another thing, which is this, not only the proportions but the total of maritime power may alter, and in that caſe the growth of any particular ſtate, though advantageous to itſelf, would not render it more formidable to others.

This computation likewiſe ſhews how much it is the intereſt of the maritime powers to ſuſtain their characters in that reſpect at all events; ſince by this means only they can preſerve their independency, protect their ſubjects wherever they may be ſettled or diſperſed, and aſſiſt their allies, notwithſtanding the ſuperior power as well as boundleſs ambition of any aſpiring neighbour. We need not wonder then at a common notion which prevails, as if we had a right to preſcribe to ſome other nations the bounds of their naval greatneſs. I will not pretend to vindicate the exerciſe of ſuch a prerogative; but methinks

thinks it would be no ill ſtroke of policy, ſhould any ſtate, really miſtreſs of ſuch a power, exert it upon extraordinary occaſions, but under ſuch colours and pretences as might effectually hide it: for this may be laid down as a thing certain, that nothing is ſo dangerous to a maritime power as pride, and, in conſequence of that vicious principle, making a bad uſe of it. *

EXCHANGE is the amount of the expences, freight, hazard, &c. of ſending coin or bullion from one country to another: if a merchant at London owes a balance of account to one at Amſterdam, he muſt either remit it in coin, or pay other perſons for taking that trouble, uſually called exchange brokers, who manage it by finding out another merchant to whom a balance is owing from Holland, who draws a bill upon his Dutch correſpondent, which the other merchant remits to Amſterdam to ſatisfy his balance. But this operation extends no further than while the mutual payments between the two nations balance each other; for if upon the whole there remains a payment due from one to the other, that payment muſt be made good by a ſimilar operation of exchange by drawing bills upon other countries; for inſtance, on Holland to pay a French balance; or elſe the caſh muſt be ſent. If upon the general payments to European countries the balance is againſt us, that balance muſt be paid in ſpecie.

EXCISES, well known taxes which go under this name. In the following paſſage they are called proportional taxes; but I adhere to the title beſt known, as all proportional taxes are properly ſpeaking exciſes.

A proportional tax is that which is levied upon the idle conſumer at the time he buys the com-

* Preſent State of Europe, p. 13.

modity; and while by consuming it, the balance of wealth is turning against him in favour of the seller. This tax is consolidated as it were with the price of the commodity, and must of necessity raise it.

I say it is levied at the time of buying, and affects the buyer in consequence of his consumption; because when the commodity is not consumed by the purchaser, then upon a subsequent alienation he is refunded all he paid. I consider him therefore in that case, not as paying, but as advancing it for another; and while any part of the commodity remains unconsumed, there still remains the equivalent of a proportional part of the tax in the hands of him who advanced it.

The most familiar instances to an Englishman are excises, customs, malt tax, stamp duties, and the like.

To a Frenchman the gabelle, the traittes, the aides, tobacco, &c.

In all kinds of this imposition we find the tax regularly re-imbursed from hand to hand; it adheres so closely to the commodity, that it becomes as essentially a part of the value, as carriage, packing, and the like incident charges enter into the prices of goods. It never can affect the industrious person who does not consume; and never can be avoided by him who does. Such taxes therefore necessarily raise the price of the commodity taxed.

The principal advantage of proportional taxes is to throw the whole of the burthen upon the rich, whom we have called the idle consumers, the better to distinguish them from the opulent class of the industrious. The principal inconveniences alledged against proportional taxes may be reduced to three:

1*mo*, That they have the effect of raising the price of labour and the produce of industy, and thereby

thereby prove hurtful to the proſperity of foreign trade.

2*do*, That they diſcourage conſumption, by carrying the prices of many things too high for people of a middling rank in life.

3*tio*, That they are both expenſive in the collection, and oppreſſive, from the many reſtrictions put upon liberty in order to prevent frauds.

As the firſt inconvenience lies in raiſing the price of all kinds of labour, and conſequently of manufactures, I muſt diſtinguiſh between the conſequence of raiſing prices at home, and of raiſing them upon articles of exportation; and I muſt conſider the one and the other relatively to the collective body of a ſtate, and not to ſome few individuals in it.

High prices at home are no diſcouragement to the induſtrious, moſt certainly, however diſagreeable they may prove to conſumers; and while they ſtand high, it is a proof that the demand of the conſumers does not diminiſh.

High prices upon goods to be exported are to be judged of by the proportion they bear to thoſe in other countries.

Now the price of a manufacturer's wages is not regulated by the price of his ſubſiſtence, but by the price at which his manufacture ſells in the market. Could a weaver, for example, live upon the air, he would ſtill ſell his day's work according to the value of the manufacture produced by it when brought to market. As long as he can prevent the effects of the competition of his neighbours, he will carry the price of his work as high as is conſiſtent with the profits of the merchant who buys it from him, in order to bring it to market; and this he will continue to do until the rate of the market is brought down.

It is therefore the rate of the market for labour and manufactures, and not the price of ſubſiſtence

which determines the ſtandard of wages. Were proportional taxes to raiſe the price of ſubſiſtence, and by that circumſtance to diſcourage manufactures, we ſhould ſee the generality or work-men living with ſobriety, depriving themſelves of ſuperfluity, confining themſelves to the plain but ſufficient phyſical neceſſary, working with all the aſſiduity that a man can ſupport, and ſtill not able to ſupply the market at the ordinary rates.

When in any country the work of manufacturers who live luxurioufly, and who can afford to be idle ſome days of the week, and ſtill live upon their wages, finds a ready market, this circumſtance alone proves beyond all diſpute that ſubſiſtence in that country is not too dear, at leaſt in proportion to the market prices at home; and if taxes on conſumption have, in fact, raiſed the price of neceſſaries beyond the former ſtandard, this riſe cannot, in fact, diſcourage induſtry: it may diſcourage idleneſs; and idleneſs will not be totally rooted out, until people be forced in one way or other, to give up both ſuperfluity and days of recreation.

People are very apt to draw concluſions from what they think ought to be, according to the particular combinations they form to themſelves; and for this reaſon it is generally thought, becauſe taxes are higher in England than in ſome other countries, that foreign trade ſhould therefore be hurt by them: but the ſloth and idleneſs of man, and the want of ambition in the lower claſſes to improve their circumſtances, tend more, I ſuſpect, to circumſcribe the productions of induſtry, and thus to raiſe their price, than any tax upon ſubſiſtence which has hitherto been impoſed in that kingdom.

The whole of this doctrine is proved by experience, and is confirmed by our national feelings. Many have been amazed to ſee how well the manufacturing claſſes live in years of ſcarcity, which frequently

quently have the effect of doubling the price of the moſt neceſſary articles of ſubſiſtence. Are they not found in bad years more aſſiduous in their labour? Do they then frequent ale-houſes as in the years of plenty? Are they found idle one half of the week? Why ſhould a tax laid on by the hand of nature prove ſuch a ſpur to induſtry, and another ſimilar to it in its effects laid on by the hand of man, produce ſuch hurtful conſequences? Were a tract of bad years, I dare not ſay an increaſe of taxes, to continue long enough to bring manufacturers to a habit of ſobriety and application, a return of plenty and low prices, would throw into their coffers what many of them diſſipate in riot and confuſion.

Upon the whole, I muſt determine that proportional taxes will,

1*mo*, Undoubtedly raiſe the price of every commodity upon which they are properly and immediately impoſed: and if they be laid upon bread and other articles of nouriſhment, they will directly raiſe the price of theſe articles in proportion; but the price of labour will be raiſed conſequentially only, and according to circumſtances.

That if taxes be laid upon the day's labour of a man, they will raiſe the price of that day's labour. What I mean by this is, that if every one who employs a man for a day were obliged to pay a penny to the ſtate, for a permiſſion to employ him, the employer would charge a penny more at leaſt upon the day's work performed by the labourer. Were a tax equivalent to it laid on the labourer by the year, it would be of a cumulative and arbitrary nature, and would not raiſe the price of his labour in proportion; but were it laid upon the workman at a penny a day, and levied daily, in this caſe he might raiſe his wages in proportion. But this is not the practice any where.

2*do*.

2do, The price of ſubſiſtence whether it be influenced or not by the impoſition of taxes, does not determine the price of labour. This is regulated by the demand for the work, and the competition among the workmen to be employed in producing it.

3tio, If wages riſe beyond the phyſical neceſſary of the workmen, they may be brought down by multiplying hands, but never by lowering the price of neceſſaries, becauſe every man will make a profit of the low price, but will regulate his gain by the rate of demand for his labour.

4to, If therefore the price of his phyſical neceſſary, be raiſed upon him by the effect of taxes, he muſt work the harder to make it up.

5to, If hands increaſe after he is reduced to his phyſical neceſſary, the whole claſs of the manufacturers will be forced to ſtarve.

6to, The increaſe of hands means no more than the augmentation of the quantity of work produced. If therefore the ſame hands work more than formerly, it is the ſame thing as if their numbers were increaſed.

The ſecond objection to proportional taxes is, that they diſcourage conſumption, by raiſing prices too high for people of a middling rank in life.

In anſwer to this, I muſt obſerve, that all the amount of proportional taxes is refunded to the induſtrious conſumer, ſo far as they are raiſed on articles neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence; and when he is either idle or conſumes a ſuperfluity, he is claſſed along with the idle and rich. Now if the rate of market prices be high, relatively to the income of certain individuals, it can only be, becauſe the ſupply of the things they want to conſume, is not above the proportion of the demand of thoſe who are richer.

If therefore the rate of the market affords ſuch profits to manufacturers, as to render them idle and luxurious, how can the augmentation of theſe profits,

by

by the abolition of taxes, and conſequent diminution of the price of ſubſiſtence, ever diminiſh the competition of the rich, unleſs the ſupply be augmented.

As to the expence of collection, it is entirely in proportion to the diſpoſition of the people to defraud the public.

In France the collecting the branches of cumulative taxes, ſuch as the general receipts, comprehending the taille, poll tax, &c. coſts the ſtate no leſs than 10 per cent, or 2 ſols in the livre, which is ſuperadded to thoſe impoſitions, in order to defray that expence, whereas in England the expence of collecting the exciſe, adminiſtered by commiſſioners who act for the public, not by farmers who act for themſelves, does not coſt above 5 l. 12 s. 6 d. in the 100 l.

This matter of fact is ſufficient to prove that exciſes when under a proper adminiſtration, are not ſo very expenſive in the collection as is generally imagined; and they would ſtill be attended with leſs expence, were ſome proper alterations made in the preſent method of impoſing them.

The oppreſſion of levying exciſes does not in any proportion, ſo much affect thoſe who really pay them as thoſe who only advance them for the conſumers *.

The exciſe in England brings in net about	l. 4,600,000
Other inland duties of the ſame nature	1,000,000
Malt tax	613,000
Total †	6,213,000

EXPORTATION of products and manufactures is what brings in the wealth of a nation; and is

* Political Oeconomy, Vol. ii. p. 502.
† Ibid, Vol. ii. 398.

the great advantage of an active trade. All countries in reſpect of riches, may be exactly judged of by this criterion: their wealth muſt be in proportion to their exportation. The example of Spain and Portugal, may teach us that importation, even of gold, ſilver, and diamonds, will not enrich a country, ſince thoſe valuable articles preſently become the property of induſtrious nations who export products and manufactures. This branch of trade is what receives the greateſt encouragement among commercial nations; particularly by a proper regulation of duties, laying heavy ones on the importation of moſt commodities, and very light ones on the exportation of them, or rather none at all; and in ſome caſes even giving bounties to promote it.

The exportation of ſuch products as cannot be manufactured, brings great wealth into a country, of which the article corn is a pregnant inſtance in England; ſugar, tobacco, and rice, are others: wines and brandy in France, timber in the North, tea in China, and the exportation of wrought products or manufactures, is the export of the labour of a nation's poor, by which they are maintained, at the expence of foreigners. Nothing therefore ſhould, by a political nation, be omitted, to promote this very important part of commerce: reſpecting its obſtructions, the common opinion is, that the great wealth generally gained by a long practice of ſuch profitable trade, raiſes the price of commodities ſo much, that poorer nations are able to underſel their richer neighbours; but a modern author, often quoted in this work, has with great ingenuity ſhewn this to be an erroneous opinion, and attributes the decline of foreign trade in rich countries, to the wealthy claſſes entering into a competition with foreigners, for their own manufactures and products. This idea is certainly juſt, and at the ſame time that we diſcover it, the

the remedy lies before us; bounties on exportation ſhould be given, to enable foreigners to purchaſe ſuch manufactures and products cheaper than our own people. By a judicious application of bounties, a nation might preſerve her foreign commerce entire, and even increaſe it greatly, in ſpite of every unfavourable circumſtance; and keep off, perhaps we may ſay, for ever, the day of decline.

Nor ought the ſums paid on exportatoin in bounties to be reckoned an expence to government, and this for ſeveral reaſons,

1. The money circulates only at home, and among the moſt induſtrious claſſes; it goes immediately into ſuch hands, as government may know will make it directly produce more, and all ſuch effects, in whatever branch of induſtry, are preſently felt in the exchequer.

2. A ſmall ſum of money advanced in a bounty, preſerves to the nation an immenſe amount of annual induſtry: if a nation is on the point of being undersold in a manufacture, by which ſhe receives two millions annually, a bounty probably of an hundred thouſand pounds timely applied, would deſtroy all the efforts of the rival, and turn them off to ſome other branch of induſtry. Now the queſtion is, if it is not prudent in government to advance one hundred thouſand pounds in order to ſave the nation two millions? Certainly double or treble the ſum had better be ſo expended than ſuffer ſuch a loſs. For the loſs of two millions in induſtry, in all probability, directly affects even taxes to more than the amount of one hundred thouſand pounds; but then what a train of evil conſequences follow the annihilation of ſo much induſtry: ſuch a number of hands, once induſtrious, becoming idle and a burthen upon the community! So great are theſe evils, and ſo clear the benefits of preſerving exportation, that an enlightened government will never allow its ſubjects to

very great, and they tell us of lace made in that part of the country, from 30 to 50 *l.* ſterling a yard; by which extraordinary improvements they have ſo far outdone the French and Italians, and even the Venetians themſelves, that theſe laſt have very little trade for their lace, though they were once juſtly famed for the fineſt in the world.

The principal places for this manufacture, are Mechlin, Bruſſels, Louvain, Valenciennes, Antwerp, and all the adjacent towns; and it employs a great number of people, eſpecially women and children.

2. Fine thread is another of their manufactures; the great quantity of fine lace requiring a great quantity of fine thread, as their linens require a proportional quantity of linen yarn, and both theſe together conſtitute another manufacture of no little concern to theſe people.

3. Their manufacture of linen is very conſiderable. Their linen conſiſts of two ſorts chiefly, viz. cambricks and lawns. Their cambricks have been made ſo fine, as to have been ſold from 20s. to 30s. per yard in London. They were formerly made only in the provinces of Artois and Cambreſis, from which laſt they had their name of cambricks; but the demand for them being ſo great of late years, the whole country has been little enough to carry on this manufacture, eſpecially that part of it bordering on France, together with the great cities of Doway, Liſle, Mons, Ypres, Ghent, and Bruges. Beſides theſe cambricks, there is a great manufacture of linen at Ghent and Bruges, and all the cities upon the Lower Schelde; which manufacture alſo is of a magnitude greater than can eaſily be repreſented.

4. The fourth manufacture the Flemings are employed in, is that of the woollen, which includes the tapeſtry made at Arras, Dourlens, Doway, and the adjacent country; alſo ſome druggets and fine ſtuffs, made

made at Liſle and in the country near it; moſt of which are, however, conſumed among themſelves, though ſome go into France.

5. Another manufacture wherein the Flemings have of late years very much improved, is that of ſilk; for they not only make at preſent ſufficient for their own uſe, but for exportation. Theſe they make now chiefly at Liſle, Bruſſels, and Antwerp: and this manufacture was greatly encouraged by the public; inſomuch that the Flemings, in the year 1725, began to direct the New Eaſt India Company, then attempted to be eſtabliſhed at Oſtend, to bring no more ſilks into the country, leſt it ſhould prove the means to ſupplant and deſtroy their own manufacture of ſilk, which employed ſo many thouſands of their people.

So conſiderable are the exports of theſe manufactures, that very good judges have eſtimated them at no leſs, in fine ſiſter thread, bone lace, and linen, (including their lawns and cambricks) than to the value of two millions ſterling a year, from thoſe provinces we now call the Auſtrian Netherlands, including part of the conquered provinces, as well as that which we call Walloon Flanders, and the province of Artois.

Nor in this account is there included their export of tapeſtry or woollen ſtuffs, nor of cotton or ſilk; of all which they export large quantities into France and Germany.

Ship-building is a great article of trade: not that the Flemings, who have but two ports, can be ſuppoſed to build abundance of ſhips; nor indeed can they do it, having no place proper for it, or materials for the work: but by ſhips here is meant only galliots, hoys, lighters, bylanders, and ſuch like veſſels, all which they call ſchips. Of theſe they have ſuch great numbers, that there muſt be abundance of hands employed in building them, and

eſpecially in the conſtant repairing and refitting, which they are always wanting. It would be very difficult to make a probable gueſs, or to calculate the number of theſe veſſels. In time of war, it is frequent to have ſeven or eight hundred of them brought together for the carrying proviſions, military ſtores, ammunition, and the like; and it is likely they have not leſs than twenty thouſand of theſe ſort of veſſels in all the provinces. All theſe are built within themſelves; and it is no little trade that they are obliged to carry on, for the ſupply of deals, timber, planks, maſts, yards, anchors, iron work, and other materials for this work, beſides pitch, tar, oil, hemp, &c.

When theſe things are conſidered, we need not wonder how all this great multitude of people, who inhabit theſe provinces, are employed and maintained. The carrying on ſuch valuable manufactures, muſt employ innumerable hands; and the quantity of goods they export, muſt bring great returns home, as well in goods as money, by which the Flemings are far from being poor. On the contrary, they are generally well circumſtanced, there being very few hands among them but can get their bread; the very children, even from five years old, are ordinarily employed, and earn their maintenance.

In regard to induſtry, they are an example to the whole world; there is nothing can live where they ſtarve; nothing is idle among them that can ſuſtain any degree of labour: the women plough and ſow, reap and bind; the men threſh, and not only the horſes carry, but the very dogs do the ſame; for they are harneſſed, and draw their carts like our horſes, and that not in jeſt or for trifles, but draw in proportion to their ſtrength very heavy loads; particularly the dogs draw little carts with fowls, fiſh,

fiſh, proviſions, and eſpecially all ſorts of greens, roots, and garden-ſtuff to the markets *.

We have quoted this account, that the reader may have the better idea of the importance of this country, excluſive of its ſituation. But when both theſe circumſtances are united, we ought to be convinced of the conſequence of every foot of this country, and be ſenſible that the acquiſitions, which France may in future be able to make on this ſide, will be of much greater conſequence to her than thoſe on any other: the tracts ſhe has already gained here are the richeſt, beſt cultivated, and fulleſt of manufactures of any in her dominions, beſides the advantages of the coaſt oppoſite the Engliſh ſhore, and gaining territory in a country that holds the command of its neighbourhood.

Such is the ſituation of the Netherlands, with reſpect to Holland and the empire, and even to Britain herſelf, that if France be once ſuffered to poſſeſs them, it will not be in the power of all Europe to ſet bounds to the progreſs of their arms. The United Provinces muſt fall a prey to her. The empire, having loſt the aſſiſtance of the States, and being cut off from all communication with England, would ſoon follow the ſame fate: ſo that if France could accompliſh her long laid deſign upon the Netherlands, and have at the ſame time a marine powerful enough to deal with that of England, (as ſhe is now certainly aiming at) ſhe might, without oppoſition, carry her conqueſts as far as ſhe pleaſed into Germany. If France be once miſtreſs of thoſe provinces, ſhe will from that moment have the command of the narrow ſeas; ſo that our trade will neither be able to get out, nor to return with ſafety. Was it not thought of the laſt conſequence by England, that the harbour of Dunkirk ſhould

* Poſtlethwayte, Art. Auſtria.

be demoliſhed? And may we not hence judge how fatal it muſt prove to this nation, to let France get poſſeſſion of the other Flemiſh ports with ſuch an increaſe of naval ſtrength, as that acquiſition would give them? Would not our coaſts and rivers then be expoſed to perpetual inſults, and our trade in ſo much danger in the narrow ſeas, as to oblige us to give it over?

Theſe ſentiments, though they are carried to too great a length for the preſent ſtate of France, and more applicable to her in the time of Lewis XIV. have, however, much truth in them, and ought to make us very watchful over all changes that may take place in theſe provinces. The Dutch are more nearly concerned; but ſince the deſtruction of their barrier, they have thought themſelves ſo expoſed to the arms of France, as to act as if under the entire influence of French councils; ſo that there is reaſon to believe, that whatever may be the event of the negotiations or force employed by the court of Verſailles, that the Dutch will be quiet ſpectators.

FLAX. Moſt of the flax conſumed in Paris comes from Flanders, and from about Rouen, where they produce great quantities. They alſo import much from the Baltic, Holſtein, and Ruſſia. It is imported alſo from the Levant, and ſome comes from Egypt. The Flanders lint is in great eſteem; that of Picardy comes near to it: of others, thoſe of Riga and Konigſberg, are in moſt repute.

We import yearly into Ireland, ſays an ingenious gentleman, about eleven thouſand hogſheads of flax-ſeed, which at 40*s.* the hogſhead, coſt 22,000*l.* and in 1747, we imported three hundred and ſeventy-ſix tons of undreſſed flax, which at 40*l.* the ton, come to 15,000*l.* Theſe are articles of expence well worth the ſaving, and which may be put into the pockets of our own farmers, if they were duly encouraged to raiſe large quantities of flax for ſeed.

The

The improvements which flax may receive from labour, are hardly to be limited. It is of all materials the moſt pliant and obedient to the artiſt, capable of being wrought to any fineneſs, and conſequently raiſed to any price. Its value in the field is trifling, and whatever more it may be ſold for, when it comes from the hackle, the wheel, the loom, or the cuſhion, is all of it the price of labour. In the common ſtaple of this country, (Ireland) the additional value it receives from the many hands it goes through, before it comes out of the loom, is full ſix parts in ſeven of its total price; in other branches of the linen manufacture, the proportion riſes to a degree which can hardly be conceived; certainly no leſs than of one hundred, perhaps upon an exact computation, of many hundreds to one. A ſtone of flax, the original price of which, before it has undergone any change from labour, is only 2 *s.* 6 *d.* may be drawn into threads of different fineneſſes, gradually increaſing in value from 1 *d.* to 4 *l.* an ounce: of each of theſe it will afford ſome ounces, two at leaſt of the fineſt ſtaple, and of every other more in proportion to its coarſeneſs, till at laſt the flax will yield no longer. Now upon a moderate computation, the value of theſe ſeveral ounces of thread cannot be leſs, upon the whole, than ten or twelve pounds, and conſequently the proportion between the firſt coſt of the unmanufactured flax, and the ſale of it in thread, is as that of one to eighty *.

FLORIDA. This new acquiſition, by the peace of Paris, is divided into two colonies, Eaſt and Weſt Florida; of which we have had deſcriptions that are entirely contrary to each other. But it ſeems at laſt to be pretty well agreed, that both theſe countries are among the moſt miſerable in the

* Dublin Society's Weekly Obſervations, p. 34.

world, both with reſpect to ſoil and climate; at leaſt all that part of it which is comprehended in the bounds, marked by Government in 1763 for the two colonies, which take in only a tract upon the ſea-coaſt: all which is a low ſwampy marſh, as barren as it is unwholeſome; but in Weſt Florida, in the tract on the Miſſiſſippi, and ſome miles to the north of the boundary, in the country left to the Indians, the ſoil is remarkably fertile, high, dry, and in a moſt ſalubrious climate; but this country our Government has excluded the ſettlers from, to fix them in the marſhy ſea-coaſts.

Conſidered in the ſtile of an acquiſition, the only conſequence this country can be of to us, is the excluding the Spaniards from the neighbourhood of Georgia, and the poſſeſſion of a coaſt, with a harbour or two, which in caſe of a war with Spain, may give advantages to our ſhipping. The former is of very little conſequence; for our colony of Weſt Florida is as much expoſed to that of Louiſiana, as Georgia could be to Spaniſh Florida; and as to the latter it is a very ſpeculative advantage, and one which we could at all times have commanded, by chooſing out a well ſituated iſland in the Bahamas, with an harbour: in a word, if we received this country, (as we certainly did) in return for conqueſts given back to the Spaniards, we undoubtedly gave far more for it than it was worth.

FLOTA, a fleet of ſhips, ſo called by the Spaniards, belonging partly to the king, and partly to the merchants, ſent every year to Vera Cruz, a port in New Spain. It conſiſts of the captains, admiral, and patache, or pinnace, which go on the king's account; and about ſixteen ſhips, from four hundred to a thouſand tons, belonging to particular perſons. They ſet out from Cadiz about the month of Auguſt, and make it eighteen or twenty months before they return.

FRANCE. In this great kingdom there are 150,000 ſquare miles, or 96,000,000 of Engliſh acres.

POPULATION.

The beſt authorities I have been able to procure, concerning the number of people in France, differ greatly; from thirteen millions to twenty. In moſt caſes, the medium is generally found to be neareſt the truth; I ſhall therefore ſuppoſe them to be ſixteen and an half. That number, on an hundred and fifty thouſand ſquare miles, is in the proportion of one hundred and ten perſons to each; and as a ſquare mile contains ſix hundred and forty acres, it amounts nearly to five acres and three quarters to each perſon.

RENTAL.

M de Boulainvilliers, one of the beſt politicians in France, calculates the rental at 87,500,000 *l.* annually. And, by the Detail de la France, a book of great credit, it appears, the rental of the kingdom before the annexed and conquered provinces were added to it, amounted to 61,250,000 *l.* according to the preſent money of France. The former writer, however, reckons the kingdom to contain 150,000,000 acres.

M. de Mirabeau makes the revenue only £. 25,790,620.

WEALTH.

	£.
Plate and jewels in France, M. de Voltaire calculates at	52,500,000
Current coin	52,500,000
Total	105,000,000

REVENUE.

First GENERAL BRANCH.

The king's ordinary revenue, with the charges upon it for 1761.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1. Domain (the king's landed eſtate)	266,666	13	4
2. Taille (the land tax)	2,515,555	11	1¼
3. Double capitation (the poll tax)	2,364,444	8	10½
4. Ditto upon ſuch as have civil employments, penſions, &c.	297,777	15	6¼
5. 2s. in the pound on all civil employments	302,222	4	5¼
6. The mint or coinage	106,666	13	4
7. Decimes and capitation of the clergy	551,111	2	2½
8. Free gifts from the ſtates of Burgundy, Provence, Languedoc, and Brittany	444,444	8	10¾
9. Paulette, an annual tax upon hereditary offices	115,555	11	1¼
10. Tax on the Lutheran clergy of Alſace	8,888	17	9¾
11. Regale, or the ſovereign's right on eccleſiaſtical benefices	62,222	4	5¼
12 General farms	5,000,000	0	0
	12,035,555	11	1¼
Of this total the general farms amount to	5,000,000		
And the other branches to	7,035,555	11	1¼
The farms were increaſed anno 1762 by	511,111	2	2¼
Total ordinary revenue at the end of the war	12,546,666	13	4

ARTICLES

ARTICLES OF EXPENCE.

	l.	s.	d.
Houſhold of the King and Royal Family	417,777	15	6½
Ditto, their perſonal expence	204,444	8	10½
King's ſtables and ſtud	111,111	2	2½
Hunting-equipages	71,111	8	2½
Alms	26,666	13	4
Pay of the palace-guards	146,666	13	4
King's buildings	293,333	6	8
Total expence of the court	1,271,111	2	2
Pay of all the houſhold troops	355,555	11	1½
Pay of all the other troops of France	2,133,333	6	8
Fortifications	266,666	13	4
Artillery for land-ſervice	293,333	6	8
Military gratifications over and above the pay	444,444	8	10½
Pay of the general officers, commanding in provinces and fortreſſes	88,888	17	9½
Pay, &c. of the Marechauſſee	97,777	15	6½
Expence of the priſoners of ſtate	53,333	6	8
Ordinary expence of the navy	1,111,111	2	2½
Total regular military expence by land and ſea	4,844,444	8	10
Royal penſions	400,000	0	0
The appointments of the King's miniſters	13,777	15	6½
Ditto of the firſt preſidents of all the parliaments in France, expence of criminal proſecutions, and many other articles of that ſort	977,777	15	6½

Appoint-

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Appointments of the venal employments of the robe, treasurers, receivers, comptrollers, &c.	444,444	8	10½
Bridges, highways, dykes, &c.	177,777	15	6½
For the royal academies	2,222	4	5¼
To the king's library	80,000	0	0
Extraordinary and casual expence upon the two last articles	17,777	15	6½
For lighting and cleaning the city of Paris	37,333	6	8
Appointments of the secretary of the cabinet-council for couriers and other expences	62,222	4	5½
Ditto of ministers at foreign courts	80,000	0	0
Total of this branch	2,353,333	6	8
Interest at 2½ per cent. upon 990,000,0000 of livres, or 44,000,000 *l.* of the late king's debts, constituted after the bankruptcy, 1720	1,100,000	0	0
Interest at 2½ per cent, upon 94,000,000 due to the company of the Indies upon their old accounts, 1720	104,444	8	10½
Farther allowed to the government, for paying their dividends	106,666	13	4
Annuities on lives constituted during the last war	711,111	2	2¼
Total interest of debts charged on ordinary revenue	2,022,222	4	5

This

This article of 711,111 *l.* of annuities on lives, is the only charge caſt upon the king's ordinary revenue, in conſequence of the laſt war.

RECAPITULATION.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Expence of the court	1,271,111	2	$2\frac{5}{6}$
Fixed military ditto by ſea and land	4,844,444	8	10
Juſtice, penſions, &c.	2,353,333	6	8
Intereſt of debts	2,022,222	4	$5\frac{1}{6}$
Total expence	10,491,111	2	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Total ordinary revenue at the end of the war	12,546,666	13	4
The firſt deducted from the latter, remains free	2,055,555	11	$1\frac{1}{2}$

Beſides the articles of expence here ſtated, there are many others to which no limit can be ſet. The comptant, or the king's private orders for ſecret ſervice, and many different expences, form a great article. Subſidies alſo to foreign courts: in ſhort, much more in all human probability is ſpent, than all the produce of this permanent revenue can anſwer. So that from this no relief from debts can be expected, except ſo far as it may be augmented by the falling of the annuities on lives. But public debts are to be paid only by funds appropriated for that purpoſe, and were this revenue to be relieved of the whole two millions of intereſt charged upon it, I have little doubt but the king's expence would augment in proportion.

The credit of France fell very low towards the end of the former war, which began in 1744, and ended

ended in 1748. To ſupply the want of a fund to be mortgaged, and conſequently the want of public credit, the king's banker, M. de Montmartel, with other men in buſineſs, joined their credit, and ſupplied the king's extraordinary occaſions. They opened a ſort of bank, anno 1745, where they received money at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per month, the principal paying on demand. This fund gained credit; payments being regularly made as ſoon as demanded.

Upon ſettling accounts after the peace, anno 1748, the king was found indebted to this bank for a vaſt ſum of money. In order to pay it, lotteries were ſet on foot, the tickets were given to the bankers, and they by the ſale of them withdrew their own paper, which was circulating with very good credit, on the exchange of Paris. In order to furniſh a fund for this lottery, the king had intereſt with the parliament, to get a twentieth penny eſtabliſhed, or one ſhilling in the pound, upon all the revenues of private people in France, except the clergy and ſome hoſpitals. The ſame was charged upon the induſtry of all corporations of trades and merchants; and to theſe was added a capitation upon the Jews.

This was thrown into what they called the *Caiſſe d'Amortiſſement*, or ſinking fund, and appropriated for paying off the lotteries, and ſome of the antient debts, which were to be drawn for this purpoſe by lot; and for other extraordinary expences incurred in conſequence of the war. This tax was to ſubſiſt, I believe, till 1767. It was this *Caiſſe d'Amortiſſement* which was ſhut up in 1759, by which a mortal blow was given to French credit.

Second General Branch.

Extraordinary taxes eſtabliſhed after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, with their appropriations.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The firſt twentieth penny on all incomes	1,057,777	15	6½
Ditto upon tradeſmen and merchants incorporated	288,888	17	9½
Ditto upon the Jews	62,222	4	5½
Total of the twentieth penny, which formed a ſinking fund ſhut up in 1759	1,408,888	17	9½
The farm of the poſts and *relais* of France	266,666	13	4
Two ſhillings in the pound of the capitation added to it	245,333	6	8
The farm of ſtamp duties on leather, and duties on tanners bark	131,555	11	1½
The farm of duties upon gunpowder and ſaltpetre	132,800	0	0
Two ſhillings in the pound of the twentieth penny added	140,888	17	9½
Total of this ſecond branch of French taxes	2,326,133	6	8

Appropriations of this fund as follows:

1. For paying during ten years, a part of the 990 millions of old annuities, charged above on the king's ordinary revenue, and bearing an intereſt of 2½ per cent. the yearly ſum of	222,222	4	5½

To

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
2. To the India company, in diſcharge of a debt due to them for twelve years	88,888	17	9¼
3. For paying the prizes of the bankers lotteries every year as they are drawn, for twelve years	168,888	17	9¼
4. Towards making good deficiences upon the funds, appropriated for the war yearly, till paid	831,111	2	2½
5. Ditto upon the funds appropriated to the new *ecole militaire*	53,333	6	8
6. For payment of perpetual annuities, created during the laſt war	644,444	8	10½
7. For making good deficiencies upon the artillery and magazines, during the war 1762; for twelve years the annual ſum of	80,000	0	0
8. Ditto upon the article of foreign affairs	386,222	4	5¼
Total appropriation	2,475,111	2	2½

This branch of revenue appears, by this ſtate, to be totally appropriated to certain purpoſes.

Of this ſecond branch of taxes, I conſider the twentieth penny, the two ſhillings in the pound augmentation on it, and a like augmentation upon the double capitation; amounting in all to above 1,750,000 *l.* a year, as a reſource which France may have at all times in caſes of neceſſity: although I do not ſuppoſe it will be poſſible to eſtabliſh them as a fixed revenue. They will probably, however, as matters ſtand, be continued either in whole or in part,

part, until the great load of debts recently contracted, ſhall be conſiderably diminiſhed.

As to the remaining ſum ariſing from the poſts, leather, and ſaltpetre, theſe I conſider as perpetual; becauſe by their nature they are not burthenſome to the people.

Third General Branch.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1. The ſecond twentieth never alienated	1,555,555	11	1¼
2. The 3d. twentieth impoſed for the years 1762 and 1763, not alienated	1,333,333	6	8
3. The free gift of the cities, towns, &c. never alienated	164,034	18	8
Total	3,052,923,	16	5¼

Fourth General Branch.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1. The net profits of all the farmers of the revenue, are calculated to amount to	766,222	4	5¼
2. The expence of levying all the revenue, is calculated to amount to about 10 per cent. of the whole	1,791,111	2	2½
3. There is a revenue appropriated for keeping up the water works at all the royal palaces	53,333	6	8
And to the Invalids, St. Cyr, and to the Hotel Militaire	324,444	8	10½
There are taxes impoſed for cloathing the militia, to the amount of	168,888	17	9½

All

	l.	s.	d.
All the towns in France have particular branches of taxes appropriated to themſelves for pavement, buildings, &c. and for maintaining the police, which amounts to	666,666	13	4
And the duties levied in the courts of law for ſentence-money, emoluments to the judges, *(epices)* and expence of regiſtrations, the vaſt ſum of	1,200,000	0	0
Total	4,970,666	13	3

Formerly all the officers of the courts of juſtice had ſalaries paid out of the king's revenue. Theſe were inſenſibly diminiſhed in every reign, and thoſe court-fees were augmented in order to fill up the void; from which the greateſt oppreſſion enſues. If to the ſum in this laſt article, we add, 977,777 *l.* above ſtated, as a charge upon the ordinary revenue for ſalaries to firſt preſidents, &c. and other expences of the law, we ſhall find that the article of juſtice alone coſts near 2,187,500*l.* a year to the public.

Fifth General Branch.

1. What is paid for bulls, diſpenſations, baptiſms, and burials to the pope, biſhops, and inferior clergy, very near	444,444	8	10½
2. For the ſupport of hoſpitals, a ſort of poor's-rates	511,111	2	2½
3. To branches of impoſitions of various kinds belonging to private people, peers of			

France,

	l.	s.	d.
France, Governors of provinces, and Officers of all the royal jurisdictions within the kingdom	888,888	17	9¾
	1,844,444	8	10½

General recapitulation of all the money raised in France by public authority, for whatever purpose employed.

	l.	s.	d.
1. The king's ordinary revenue, as it stood at the peace, 1762	12,546,666	13	4
2. The extraordinary revenue raised at the peace, 1748	2,326,133	6	8
3. The extraordinary revenue raised on account of last war, and for the payment of debts then contracted, not sold at the peace	3,052,923	17	4
4. The expences of raising the taxes and emoluments of the farmers, with other branches perpetually appropriated for defraying regular expences	4,970,666	13	4
5. Taxes paid to the church, poor, and private persons	1,844,444	8	10½
Sum total raised annually in France	24,740,834	19	6½

Charges or appropriations of it.

1. Charges upon the ordinary revenue, per list above	10,491,111	2	2½
2. Ditto upon the second general branch of per ditto	2,475,111	2	2½
3. Ditto upon the third general branch for lotteries and perpe-			

perpetual annuities, conſtituted during the war: the life-annuities being already charged in article 1ſt.	1,120,844	8	10½
4. Ditto upon the fourth general branch totally exhauſted	4,970,666	13	4
5. Ditto upon the fifth general branch ditto	1,844,444	8	10
There remains (unappropriated) for all extraordinary expences of ſtate, which compleats the ſum total of what is raiſed in France	3,838,657	4	0
	24,740,834	19	6

Had the ſum of £. 3,838,657 4ſ. remaining as unappropriated at the peace, been any way ſufficient for paying off claims which have not appeared upon the ſtate we have given, and for all extraordinary expences, the credit of France would not have been ſo low as it then was and ſtill continues to be.

Of the many branches which compoſe this great national revenue of above four and twenty millions, there are ſeveral articles which muſt of neceſſity be cut off as ſoon as the debts are brought into a regular form. The double poll-tax is moſt oppreſſive on the poorer ſort, and therefore was levied only for a time: the three twentieths, as they are levied, are no leſs ſo upon the higher claſſes of the people.

Theſe four articles amount, however, to 5,075,000*l.* If we deduct this from the revenue, as we have ſtated the amount of it, it will not only exhauſt the balance of 3,838,657*l.* but it will create a deficiency, upon the whole, of 1,312,500*l.* which can only be compenſated, by diſcharging a correſponding part of the burthen of debts, while thoſe branches do ſubſiſt.

Extraor-

Extraordinary expence in France on account of the ſeven years war.

For 1756	£. 5,377,778
For 1757	6,044,444
For 1758	6,000,000
For 1759	8,652,924
For 1760	11,186,431
For 1761	5,364,034
For 1762	7,076,924
	49,702,535

Public debts of France to 1720, intereſt of	£. 1,311,110
Intereſt of thoſe contracted ſince	4,307,066
Intereſt of national debt 1762 *	5,618,176

COMMERCE.

An account of the number of French merchant ſhips, in what trades they are employed, with their tonnage and number of ſeamen.

Trades	Ships	Tons	Men
American iſlands	336	70,000	9050
Louiſiana	4	900	144
Canada	7	980	198
Mediterranean, Levant, &c.	772	59832	9284
Spain	289	18268	2962
Portugal	32	3297	436
Barbary	56	2750	485
Holland	69	5015	571
Great Britain and Ireland	54	1982	206
The North	25	1760	234

* Political Oeconomy, Vol. II. Book iv. Ch. 6.

Trades	Ships	Tons	Men
Senegal	7	1020	217
Guinea	11	1780	518
Eaſt Indies	12	6010	1454
Flanders	12	682	101
Fiſheries in North America, and on the banks of Newfoundland	405	59625	15970
Herring fiſhery	181	4824	3124
Whale Ditto	29	5815	1534
†	2301	244540	46,488

Of theſe articles of commerce the three principal are: 1ſt, The ſugar iſlands. 2d, The Newfoundland fiſhery: and, 3d, The Levant trade.

1ſt, The importance of the French ſugar iſlands will beſt appear from a few plain facts, which ar eto be met with in the works of ſeveral writers, who have treated of Weſt Indian affairs. A modern author ‡ ſays, "that by a calculation made about the year 1749, the exported produce of Hiſpaniola was 1,200,000l. but that was much under-rated," and there are many reaſons to believe that it was. Another writer § ſays, "Hiſpaniola produces more than all the Britiſh iſlands;" if ſo, the amount is above 2,700,000 l. Guadalupe, we well know, was in a year ſubject to the loſſes of war, and excluſive of the exports to North America, worth to Britain 600,000l.* we cannot reckon the whole produce, therefore, at leſs than 700,000 l. If we ſuppoſe Martinico, and their ſmaller iſlands equal, the total amount will be 4,100,000l. We are told on pretty good authority, ‖

† Account of Southern Prov. of France, p. 133.
‡ European Settlements, Vol. ii. p. 16.
§ Importance of Britiſh Plantations in America.
* Commercial Principles of the late Negociation, p. 36.
‖ Poſtlethwayte, Art. French Am.

that

that the French iſlands produce 120,000 hogſheads annually. I before ſhewed, that the Britiſh ones yield 98,000, the value of which, with the reſt of their products, amounted to above 2,700,000l. by which proportion the French products of this ſort come to about 3,300,000l. to this we muſt add, the amount of other products not raiſed in the Britiſh iſlands; theſe, among others, are coffee †, cocoa, and indigo. Of the firſt they raiſe annually 9,400,000 lb.§

which at 1 s. 6d. is	£. 700,000
Cocoa 176,000 lb. at 6 d.	5,000
Indigo 1,298,000 lb. 2 s. 6d.	162,000
Annatto 200,000 lb. 3 s. 4d.	33,000
	900,000
Add ſugar, &c.	3,300,000
Total	£. 4,200,000

The coincidence between this ſum and the former total is remarkable.

Mr. Poſtlethwaite quotes authors who make the number of negroes imported into the French iſlands, to be upon a medium, 25,000. Now 15,000 negroes in the Britiſh iſlands raiſe commodities to the amount of 2,700,000 l.; therefore 25,000 in the French ones yield 4,500,000.

The medium of theſe three different methods of aſcertaining the product of the French ſugar iſlands is 4,266,000 l. which ſum, I think, cannot be far from the truth £. 4,266,000

† Concerning the Coffee trade of France, See Memoire ſur l'Origine et Uſage du Caffée. Hiſt. de la Campagnie des Indes. p. 145. 153. 154. Hiſt. des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 429. Dict. de Com. tom. i. p. 658.

§ Commercial Principles, p. 17.

All the ſtaples of the Britiſh colonies, continental and inſular, were found to amount to 3,880,000

The French ſugar iſlands ſuperior to all the Britiſh colonies by 386,000

The freight of the Britiſh ſugar iſle products or 2,700,000 l. amounted to 636,000 l. conſequently thoſe of France come to 1,000,000 l. Product and freight together to 5,266,000 l. that is within 489,000 l. of the total value of all the Britiſh colonies in products, duties, and freight, and this without reckoning any of the French duties. If to theſe circumſtances we add the product of the iſles of Bourbon and France, which produce in no inconſiderable plenty, ſugar, ebony, cotton, white pepper, gum benjamin, aloes, tobacco, rice, and many years ago coffee to the amount of 100,000l. per annum ‡: theſe articles I ſay, with the amount of the French duties, will, beyond all doubt, carry the product of the French colonies much beyond that of the Britiſh ones §.

Next, as to the Newfoundland fiſhery, the authorities that have been collected concerning it are all previous to the laſt war: whether the trade be as great ſince, with only the little iſles in the poſſeſſion of France, as when they had Cape Breton, is much to be queſtioned; but the former ſtate of it is thus collected by a late eſſayiſt.

The Newfoundland fiſhery of France is ſaid by a late writer *, to be four times greater than that of Britain; if ſo, its ſtate is as follows:

‡ Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol xi. p 170.
§ Political Eſſays, p. 440.
* Preſent State of Great Britain and North America, p. 175.

Value

Value and freight of the fiſh	£. 1,272,000
Ships	684
Seamen	30,000
Another author makes the French fiſhery to produce ‖	1,350,000
A third * makes it	981,692
Medium of theſe accounts	1,200,000

One of theſe writers makes the ſhips †	1350
Another ‡	564
If four times greater than Britain's they are	684
A fourth § makes it	405
The medium	750

The number of ſeamen one aſſerts to be ‖	15,970
Another *	30,096
If four times larger than Britain's	30,000
Another writer makes them †	27,500
Medium	25,000

RECAPITULATION.

Value	£. 1,200,000
Ships	750
Seamen	§ 25,000

‖ Heathcote's Letter, p. 26.
* Sir William Pepperel's Journal.
† Heathcote, p. 26.
‡ Sir William Pepperel.
§ Maritime Provinces of France, p. 133.
‖ Ibid.
* Heathcote, p. 26.
† Pepperel.
§ Political Eſſays, p. 543.

The great importance of the Levant trade to France cannot be doubted, from its employing near ſixty thouſand tons of ſhipping, and above nine thouſand men; and the misfortune of this trade to Britain is, its being taken out of her ſcale to be thrown into that of France: it is a moſt profitable branch of commerce, conſiſting almoſt entirely of the export of French manufactures.

Until the reign of that great improver, Lewis XIV. the manufactures and foreign commerce of France were very inconſiderable; but that monarch executing very vigorouſly the ideas of his prime miniſter, Colbert, ſoon changed the ſtate of affairs; numerous manufactures were eſtabliſhed, colonies founded in the moſt diſtant regions, an Eaſt India company erected, the Newfoundland fiſhery proſecuted with great vigour, and the foundations laid for a flouriſhing ſugar trade.

All theſe articles increaſed in vigour and public benefit until the ſucceſſion war, which involved the king in ſuch immenſe expences, and ſo overſtrained the reſources of the kingdom, that every thing ran to decay, nor were they then under the happy influence of ſuch a miniſter as Colbert to protect them.

The regency of the duke of Orleans, peace being his object, was, without his being particularly attentive to theſe points, very favourable to the renovation of manufactures and commerce. Both continued on the increaſe till the war of 1741, which proved utterly deſtructive of all the foreign trade of France, and extremely ruinous to her manufactures. The immenſe damage ſhe received by that war, proved in the ſtrongeſt manner how much her commerce had increaſed. The number of ſhips ſhe loſt in the war, the number of ſailors ſhe employed, and the amount of the enemies captures were all points of the moſt ſtriking proof.

The

The ſucceeding peace ſpeedily renewed her commerce. At the breaking out of the late war in 1755, it was arrived at a ſurprizing height; the number of ſailors which her enemy made priſoners of, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, convinced all Europe, that her trade had fully recovered the ſhock of the preceding war, and had even increaſed in value. The ruin which followed, moſt certainly exceeded all former loſſes: a total deſtruction was the conſequence of that war; for while it continued, the trade of France was really annihilated, and her manufactures in a moſt wretched ſtagnation *.

MILITARY POWER.

For a liſt of the French land forces, ſee ARMY.
For their marine, ſee NAVY.

POLITICS.

France recruits her loſſes of war ſo quick, that her government is deceived at the appearance, and becauſe the nation is in a flouriſhing way, is too ready to conclude it able to ſupport a freſh war. Low as ſhe had been reduced by the war of 1741, it was beyond all doubt within the management of her miniſtry, to render her again a moſt formidable power, and on foundations of no inconſiderable ſtability: this, however, was a buſineſs that required no ſhort time; with the patience and dexterity of the regent. I may ſay, *patience* alone: for let but the kingdom of itſelf have time ſufficient to recruit, and her real power will be perpetually on the increaſe.

We all know how well this conduct has been purſued. If an extremely penetrating politician had

* Letters concerning the preſent ſtate of the French nation, p. 53.

ſketched

ſketched out a plan, for a traitor of a French miniſter to ruin his country, without its palpably appearing a matter of deſign, beyond all doubt it would preciſely have been the very ſyſtem which has ſince taken place. The peace was concluded in 1748; the very next year embarkations of troops were made for Canada. In 1750, all America was in flames, and the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris remonſtrated.

But France, inſtead of avoiding, plunged headlong into a war. She determined to ſupport her incroachments in America at all events, and the conſequence was an open rupture. Her evident buſineſs was to make good her plan of the American war: ſhe was ſtrong in Canada, and gained a pitched battle. She ought, therefore, to have ſent ſuch a powerful army thither, as would have rendered her ſo much ſuperior to her enemy that immediate conqueſt muſt follow, and this ſo early as to be in no danger from Engliſh fleets; ſince an opportunity in this caſe once loſt, could never be recalled: for when the Engliſh navy was armed, and in ſervice, all reinforcements ſent to America muſt be very trivial, and very inſecure of eſcaping. The French miniſtry had *time* ſufficient to have performed all this over and over again; but they miſſed it: that is, they ſent ſlight reinforcements, which was doing worſe than nothing.

They entered into a quarrel, which it was their immediate buſineſs to decide in a diſtant region, ſeparated from them by a vaſt ocean. They neglected to render themſelves ſecurely powerful in this region *before* a war: with a potentate infinitely their ſuperior by *ſea*, they began the war without an ability of reinforcing it. Money, tranſports, ſailors, every thing was wanting, juſt at the moment all ſhould have ſailed to America.

The

The war began indeed at a time when France was far, very far from being prepared for it. The cutting loſſes of the laſt were yet freſh bleeding: ſo ſhort a time was very inſufficient to repair one ſingle misfortune in any one department of the ſtate. Her finances were in miſerable order.—How, indeed, was it poſſible they ſhould be otherwiſe! Her navy not a tenth part manned; her army wretchedly recruited, and ſtill worſe commanded—her magazines of every kind very deficient—the internal ſtate of the kingdom very far from being recovered from former ſhocks—not the leaſt appearance of an ability to furniſh reſources of any kind in a day of trouble, and laſtly no unanimity in her councils; no miniſter of apparent power or abilities, whoſe ſituation was tolerably ſecure.

The ſituation to which ſhe was reduced by the laſt war was ſo exceedingly low and miſerable, that a few campaigns (perhaps a ſingle one more) would have fixed the acquiſitions made by the Engliſh for ever in their hands. It is needleſs to point out the dreadful conſequences to France of ſuch an event; and that it would have been brought about almoſt without an effort, is very palpable. The French power was become entirely deſpicable to that nation. She would have ſtripped her enemy of every colony, ſettlement, and poſſeſſion, that was disjointed from the very kingdom of France itſelf. She would not have left even a ſhadow of any trade or naval force: ſo circumſtanced, ſhe might at a moderate expence, have bid defiance to France, and indeed all Chriſtendom. Carrying on half the commerce of the globe, in poſſeſſion of the moſt valuable ſettlements of France and Spain; growing more rich and potent from the very cauſes that ruined her enemies, ſhe might have kept all her conqueſts, and gained fifty times more from a perpetual French and Spaniſh war, than the beſt treaty ever made could enrich her with.

But

But the advocates for a peace in England, urged ſtrongly the neceſſity of concluding a war which coſt them ſo many millions annually. Weak and deſpicable politics! They did not ſeem to conſider, that a peace, whenever made, was nothing more than a reſpite to the French, to enable them to recruit their loſſes by their trade, and render them ſpeedily ſtrong enough *(according to the ideas of the French government)* again to try the ſucceſs of war; and that *one* million expended with judgment in the courſe of a proſperous war, is of more effect than the chance of *five* in any future one; when miniſters, commanders, and meaſures, on all ſides, may be ſo totally different. Nor can any one venture to aſſert, that another campaign carried on againſt the French and Spaniſh ſettlements, at the expence of twenty millions ſterling, would not have been attended, in all probability, with more ſucceſs than an hundred millions ſpent in a ſucceeding one, after the enemy is recruited by trade and commerce. I ſtate that ſum, ſuppoſing it all expended on maritime meaſures, and that five millions annually were neceſſary to be ſent by the Engliſh to Germany, to effect their conqueſts elſewhere.

It ſhould be remembered, that there is a vaſt difference between a million ſpent againſt an enemy almoſt cruſhed, and againſt an enemy in the beginning of a war, when both parties ſtart nearly equal. The million, in the latter caſe, probably evaporates without a ſingle advantage being gained by it; the enemy is prepared, and very little ground, if any, is gained. It is therefore very apparent, that many millions muſt be expended, *even in a ſucceſsful* war, for *one* to take great effect; every blow reaches his very vitals; reſiſtance is faint and languid: then is the time to flinch not at great expences, which operate ſo ſtrongly to prevent future ones.

It

It is extremely probable that the French miniſtry, of whomſoever it may conſiſt, and whatever general plan of European politics may be embraced, will continue to cheriſh the arts of peace; and aſſiſt, as far as they are able, the people in recruiting the loſſes of the war. They will probably aim at effecting this, by encouraging agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; or, in other words, they will let the kingdom remain quiet for ſome time, and repair its own misfortunes. Some advantageous laws may be made for promoting this matter, in proportion to the abilities of the miniſters.

It is, however, highly improbable that they will long maintain the preſent peace. France is a country of great extent; admirably compact, and has naturally great reſources. Theſe circumſtances, with the addition of her foreign commerce, will preſently enable her again to carry that countenance, which will again deceive her government. She will be recruited in appearance much ſooner than in reality; and this difference will be the cauſe of another war kindling Europe again into flames. A very few years will ſee the face of affairs greatly changed in France, from what it was at the laſt peace: her commerce will preſently flouriſh; her ſeamen greatly increaſe; and a vaſt navy be built. It will not follow from hence, that ſhe will then be powerful enough again to encounter the Engliſh; but her miniſters, and the people, poſſibly themſelves may think ſo: a new war will ſoon be the conſequence; and ſhe will again probably be reduced to the ſame ſituation as before.

I am very far from being clear, that it is not the ſyſtem of France always to engage in a war with England the moment ſhe thinks herſelf able; and this let the proſpect of ſucceſs be what it may. The aim of this conduct evidently is to ruin her enemy by the new weight of expence. The French miniſtry

niſtry do not ſo much conſider what they gain or loſe, as the number of millions added to the national debt of England: increaſe but that to a degree to hurt public credit, and they will think their buſineſs done. Without this credit, England cannot command vaſt ſupplies; and a national debt certainly *may* increaſe to the ruin of a country.

The French miniſtry will probably, on this plan, renew the war: as ſoon as they falſly ſuppoſe the kingdom recruited, they will add fifty or ſixty millions to the debt of England; they will themſelves be exhauſted. A peace recruits them, another war adds fifty or ſixty more: the miſery of France in the mean time is little conſidered: every object is included in the ruin of England: the power of France is conſidered not at what it is in reality, but at what it is in compariſon with that of her grand enemy. Now the government of France is a reſource great and endleſs on compariſon with the ſtate of her neighbour; and however the kingdom may be reduced, a few years peace will give her a flouriſhing appearance; and if ſhe ſhould again ſtart with her enemy, juſt involved in bankruptcy, the conſequences would probably be more in her favour than are at firſt apparent.

But all ſuch management, however politically it might tend to ruin England, muſt neceſſarily ruin France likewiſe. It is true ſhe would no longer have that formidable credit to fight againſt, but then ſhe herſelf would no longer bear the weight ſhe does at preſent, on compariſon with her other neighbours: a point of no ſmall conſequence *.

* Letters concerning the preſent State of the French Nation, p. 20.

AGRICUL-

AGRICULTURE.

From the peace of 1748, the French began to ſee a little clearer into the vaſt importance of agriculture than heretofore. The cultivation of that immenſe kingdom they inhabited, then began to come a little in competition with manufactures. Still, however, no memorable laws were enacted for its encouragement; but the dawning of a juſt ſpirit was ſeen among individuals, and the miniſtry applauded them. The laſt war ſucceeding, ſo ſpeedily interrupted theſe happy omens of future policy; but at the ſame time made a ſtrong impreſſion on the neceſſity of purſuing them, in the diſtreſſes to which France was again reduced, for want of a vigorous cultivation of her own ſoil. No ſooner was the peace concluded, than agriculture evidently became a material object with her miniſtry: they ſaw with envy, that England ſupported immenſe expences with eaſe from her trade; and when that trade came to be inquired into, by far the moſt beneficial branch of it was found to be the trade of corn.

Actuated with juſt ideas, and animated with becoming ſpirit, agriculture was no longer neglected. After the peace of Aix la Chapelle, almoſt all the European nations, by a ſort of tacit conſent, applied themſelves to the ſtudy of agriculture, and continued to do ſo, more or leſs, even amidſt the univerſal confuſion that ſoon ſucceeded. The French found, by repeated experience, that they could never maintain a long war, or procure a tolerable peace, without they raiſed corn enough to ſupport themſelves, in ſuch a manner as they ſhould not be obliged to ſubmit to harſh terms on the one hand, or periſh by famine on the other. Their king (in imitation of a laudable policy in China, where every perſon who has made any remarkable improvements in huſbandry,

is created a mandarin of the eighth claſs) vouchſafed to give public encouragement to agriculture, and has been preſent at the making ſeveral experiments. The great and rich, of various ranks and ſtations, followed this example: the very ladies put in for their ſhare of fame in ſuch a commendable undertaking; nay, even aged king Staniſlaus, (like another Diocleſian in his retirement from a throne) amuſed himſelf with huſbandry in the ſolitudes of Lorrain, and has even correſponded on the ſubject.

France gave a wiſe attention to huſbandry, even during the hurry and diſtreſſes of her laſt war. Some prize queſtions in rural oeconomics were then propoſed annually, particularly by the two academies of Lyons and Bourdeaux. Many alterations for the better were made by the ſociety for improving agriculture in Brittany.

Since the concluſion of the peace, matters have been carried on with great vigour. The univerſity of Amiens has made propoſals to the public for the advancement of huſbandry; whilſt the Marquiſs de Tourbilli (a writer who goes chiefly on experience) has the principal direction of a georgical ſociety eſtabliſhed lately at Tours. That at Rouen likewiſe deſerves our notice; nor have the king, or his miniſters, thought it unworthy of their attention. The archbiſhop of the dioceſe is one of the members.

I will add nothing further on this ſubject, except that no longer ago than the year 1761, there were thirteen ſocieties exiſting in France, eſtabliſhed by royal approbation for the promoting of agriculture; and theſe thirteen ſocieties had nineteen co-operating ſocieties belonging to them, whenever it happened that a diſtrict was too large to be effectually taken care of by one ſociety. If our nation is not in a lethargy, I think this may be ſufficient to awaken it: a ſtolen march occaſions the worſt ſort of defeat, either in war or political adminiſtration.

In

In the year 1756, his moſt chriſtian majeſty iſſued out an edict, by which he exempted from land-tax, (that is to ſay, in fields newly broken up) for the ſpace of twenty years, all cultivators of madder in drained marſhes, and other waſte neglected grounds. But at the ſame time let it be remembered, that public encouragement in France was given to the draining of fens and bogs, firſt in the year 1607, and afterwards in 1641.

As a proof that ſomething has been done in the culture of madder, the board of agriculture held at Beauvais, made it plain, 1762, to all perſons concerned in dying, that madder raiſed in that diſtrict, and contrary to common cuſtom, uſed when the roots were freſh gathered, gave a finer tincture than the Zeeland madder, and went farther in a proportion of eight to five.

Auguſt 16th, 1762, it was alſo ordered in council, that no tax, for the ſpace of twenty years, ſhould be levied upon grounds newly broken up; provided the ſaid grounds had lain twenty years in an uncultivated ſtate.

Many other encouragements have been ſince given to the cultivators of land; and, if I miſtake not, all pacquets and letters of correſpondence to and from moſt of theſe ſocieties lately eſtabliſhed, are exempted from the payment of poſtage.

But the greateſt encouragement to agriculture, which the French in theſe latter times have experienced, is the allowance of a free exportation of corn, which was granted by a perpetual and irrevocable edict, in the year 1764. This meaſure was founded on the trueſt policy, and the wiſeſt attention to the policy of the Engliſh. That people became great from their exportation of corn; but ſuch exportation was chiefly owing to a bounty granted by parliament: and this is the laſt point of encouragement which France in that reſpect at preſent wants, to

render her more powerful than the acquiſition of conquered provinces will ever effect.

A company of patriots, particularly of Bourdeaux, diſtinguiſhed by their zeal, and the enlightened manner in which they followed the ſyſtem of the true œconomy, lately engaged among themſelves to try by all poſſible means to direct the views of their countrymen to agriculture, that eſſential but heretofore neglected art. The principal object of their immediate attention, was the vaſt tract of uncultivated land, containing about 240,000 acres, which made a part of the domains of the marquiſate of Certes, ſituated in the diviſion of Bourdeaux. They purchaſed part of theſe lands of the proprietor by an abſolute contract of ſale.

That which moſt favoured the project of theſe worthy citizens, was the entering into the poſſeſſion of the power of erecting the twentieth part of theſe waſte lands, either into fiefs or arierfiefs; and into the right of eſtabliſhing, according to the neceſſity of the caſe, manufactures, mills, preſſes, dove-houſes, fairs, markets, &c. and to enjoy a general exemption from all fines of alienation and ſale in the firſt changes to which the portions of property might be ſubject. Beſides theſe circumſtances, the king approved and confirmed the ſale of the lands, by an arret of his council of ſtate, given the 1ſt of June, 1762. By this arret it was ordained, that the cultivators of theſe lands ſhould be exempted from the tailles, and all other impoſts, for forty years; and fixed at ſix ſols only, all rights of controul on all ſorts of ſales, contracts, exchanges, partitions, &c. He likewiſe reduced to one denier per acre (the twelfth part of a French penny) the rights of regiſtry, the hundredth denier, and the half hundredth denier. He likewiſe granted to the bourgeois, the enjoyment, during forty years, of free fiefs, as to all leaſes among them, relative to their undertaking;

taking; and laſtly renewed to them the privileges granted by the edict of Henry IV. 1607, to all who worked at draining marſhes. Strangers who employed themſelves three years in the culture of theſe lands, were to become natives, and enjoy all the prerogatives of letters of naturalization. They had an entire liberty of eſtabliſhing their habitations in whatever part of France they deſired, and of exerciſing ſuch profeſſion as ſeemed beſt to them, without in any reſpect loſing any of their rights.

Under ſuch favourable auſpices, this ruſtic company were very eager in taking the laſt meaſures for beginning the execution of their uſeful enterprize: uſeful it might truly be called, if as the French aſſert, when compleated, it would augment population with more than 300,000 people. Beyond all doubt, ſuch a vaſt extent of country might be brought to produce a prodigious quantity of various commodities.

Meſſrs. Vallet de Sellignac and Chaulce de Chazelle, the firſt undertakers, began with a moſt judicious examination of the ſoil in every part of their purchaſe, took the neceſſary time for making ſeveral experiments on it, and gained the beſt knowledge of its various natures in their power. They then publiſhed propoſals to labourers, and all other workmen, that they would employ them by the year or day, as they liked beſt; or in caſe any of them liked better to hire portions of the land, they ſhould be treated with the utmoſt favour. Seventeen hundred farms were eſtabliſhed, each conſiſting of a tract of land from one hundred to a hundred and fifty acres. They placed the habitation, barn, ſtable, garden, and orchard, in the center of each diviſion, one half of which was converted into arable lands, and the other into paſture and wood. Beſides all this, the undertakers furniſhed the farmers with all the cattle neceſſary for their firſt works. Purſuant

ſuant to the above diviſion, the houſes, barns, and ſtables, occupied ſix thouſand acres; five thouſand were employed in gardens and orchards; eleven thouſand in arable lands; eighty thouſand in graſſes; twenty thouſand in woods; twelve thouſand in hemp and flax; forty thouſand in roads, canals, &c. and laſtly three thouſand for public places, as fairs, markets, &c. the whole two hundred and forty thouſand acres *.

FREIGHT is the ſoul of navigation, as it employs ſhipping, and breeds nurſeries of ſeamen: the cheaper the freight, the better the trade, as it carries goods cheap to foreign markets, and renders the merchant capable of ſelling them at an eaſy rate; therefore the regulation and encouragement of freight, ſhould be carefully attended to by every trading nation.

It is manifeſt that the freight of all goods, exported from Great Britain, is paid by foreign nations, and perhaps more than one fifth of the freight of all the Britiſh ſhipping, is paid by thoſe nations with whom Great Britain has any trade. It is ſaid there are about 500,000 tons of ſhipping (written ſome years ago, the quantity is much greater now) belonging to Great Britain; and that the freight may be charged at 5 *l.* per ton, per ann. therefore if Great Britain pays the Eaſt Countries about 200,000*l.* a year for naval ſtores, ſhe gains above twice as much from other nations by her ſhipping, which could not be carried on without ſuch naval ſtores.

Eaſt India and Turkey goods, to the value of 150,000 *l.* will lie in two hundred tons of ſhipping; and eight hundred tons of ſhipping are ſufficient for 200,000 *l.* value of the Britiſh woollen manufactures. A million of pounds weight of ſugar, or tobacco, are not above five hundred tons; and five thouſand tons of ſhipping are ſufficient for about 40,000*l.* value in corn. Nothing is more reaſonable, than that all coun-

* Mercure de France for Aug. 1762, p. 107.

tries

tries ſhould pay the carriage of thoſe commodities they conſume; but if the freight is performed in foreign bottoms, the money muſt be paid to foreign countries: ſo that it ſhould be the principal view of all trading countries, to carry goods in their own bottoms; and the more ſhipping they have, the more they will be conſidered as carriers for themſelves and others: from whence it is plain, that thoſe countries who have the leaſt ſhipping, pay the moſt for freight.

The freight from England, to and from any part of France on the ocean, is about 20*s.* per ton; but to Italy, Spain, and Portugal, it is 4*l.* a ton.

Whatſoever is the price of building, and fitting a ſhip to ſea, is the meaſure of her value; and whatſoever annual freight ſhall be given for the uſe of this ſhip, is the meaſure of the annual profit. The money thus given pays the builder and his ſervants; the landed intereſt for timber, plank, and iron; the fellers, ſawyers, ſquarers, and carriers; the Norway merchants for their planks, maſts, and yards; for their pitch, tar, and oil; for their tallow, roſin, and brimſtone; as alſo all other people who beſtow either labour or material to this ſhip, is all paid for by the firſt coſt, or the annual freight. The price of building, and fitting out, is therefore the meaſure of her firſt value; but if her repairs, her wear and tear, amount to more than her yearly profit, ſhe will ſoon be laid up: ſo that for a nation to carry on trade by a cheap freight, is to build ſhips at an eaſy expence, and carry its own manufactures at leaſt to other countries.

G.

GALLEONS, the fleet thus called, conſiſts of about eight men of war of 50 guns each, deſigned principally to ſupply Peru with military ſtores; but in reality, laden not only with theſe, but with every other kind of merchandize on a private account, ſo as to be in bad condition for defending themſelves,

or protecting others; under the convoy of theſe ſail about 12 merchant ſhips not inferior in burthen. This fleet of the galleons is regulated in much the ſame manner with the flotas, and it is deſtined for the excluſive commerce of Terra Firma and the South Sea, as the flota is for that of Mexico *.

GEORGE's ISLAND, in the South Sea, firſt diſcovered by Captain Wallace, in the Dolphin and Swallow ſloops, who went round the world in 1766—1769; and afterwards examined by M. Bougainville, and alſo by Captain Cooke, in the Endeavour. The following is the account given by the French captain.

Upon arriving on the coaſt of Taiti, the two ſhips were ſurrounded with more than an hundred periaguas of different ſizes, all which had out-riggers. They were laden with cocoa nuts, bananas, and other fruits of the country. The exchange of theſe fruits, which were delicious to us, was made very honeſtly for all ſorts of trifles. The aſpect of this coaſt, elevated like an ampitheatre, offered us the moſt enchanting proſpect. Notwithſtanding the great height of the mountains, none of the rocks has the appearance of barrenneſs; every part is covered with woods. We hardly believed our eyes when we ſaw a peak covered with trees up to its ſolitary ſummit, which riſes above the level of the mountains in the interior parts of the ſouthern quarter of the iſland. Its apparent ſize ſeemed to be no more than thirty toiſes in diameter, and grew leſs in breadth as it roſe higher. At a diſtance it might have been taken for a pyramid of immenſe height, which the hand of an able ſculptor had adorned with garlands and foliage. The leſs elevated lands are interſperſed with meadows and little woods; and all along the coaſt

* An Account of the European Settlements in America, vol. i. p. 292.

there runs a piece of low and level land, covered with plantations, touching on one ſide the ſea, and on the other bordering the mountainous parts of the country. Here we ſaw the houſes of the iſlanders, amidſt bananas, cocoa nut, and other trees, loaded with fruit.

As we ran along the coaſt our eyes were ſtruck with the ſight of a beautiful caſcade, which came from the tops of the mountains, and poured its foaming waters into the ſea. A village was ſituated at the foot of this caſcade, and there appeared to be no breakers in this part of the coaſt. We all wiſhed to be able to anchor within ſight of this beautiful ſpot, but we were forced to go in ſearch of another anchorage.

Gaining a better, and as we came nearer the ſhore, the number of iſlanders ſurrounding our ſhips increaſed. The periaguas were ſo numerous all about the ſhips, that we had much ado to warp in, amidſt the croud of boats and the noiſe; all theſe people were crying out *tayo*, which means friend, and gave a thouſand ſigns of friendſhip; they all aſked nails and ear-rings of us. The periaguas were full of females, who, for agreeable features, are not inferior to moſt European women, and who in point of beauty of the body might, with much reaſon, vie with them all. Moſt of theſe fair females were naked; for the men and the old women that accompanied them had ſtripped them of the garments which they generally dreſſed themſelves in. The glances which they gave us from their periaguas, ſeemed to diſcover ſome degree of uneaſineſs, notwithſtanding the innocent manner in which they were given; perhaps becauſe nature has every where imbelliſhed their ſex with a natural timidity; or becauſe, even in theſe countries, where the eaſe of the golden age is ſtill in uſe, women ſeem leaſt to deſire what they moſt wiſh for. The men who were more plain, or rather more

free, ſoon explained their meaning very clearly. They preſſed us to chooſe a woman, and come on ſhore with her, and their geſtures, which were leſs than equivocal, denoted in what manner we ſhould form an acquaintance with her. It was very difficult, in the midſt of ſuch a ſight, to keep at their work four hundred young French ſailors, who had ſeen no women for ſix months. In ſpite of all our precautions a young girl came on board, and placed herſelf on the quarter deck near one of the hatchways, which was open, in order to give air to thoſe who were heaving at the capſtern below it. The girl careleſsly dropt a cloth that covered her, and appeared to the eyes of all beholders ſuch as Venus ſhewed herſelf to the Phrygian ſhepherd, having indeed the celeſtial form of that goddeſs. Both ſailors and ſoldiers endeavoured to come to the hatchway, and the capſtern was never hove with more alacrity than on this occaſion.

After compleating our camp on ſhore, the natives from all ſides brought fruit, fowls, hogs, fiſh, and pieces of cloth, which they exchanged for nails, tools, beads, buttons, and numberleſs other trifles, which were treaſures to them. They were upon the whole very attentive to give us pleaſure: they ſaw us gathering antiſcorbutic plants, and ſearching for ſhells; their women and children ſoon vied with each other, in bringing us bundles of the ſame plants which they had ſeen us collecting, and baſkets full of ſhells of all ſorts. Their trouble was paid at a ſmall expence.

The ſame day I deſired the chief to ſhew me where I might cut wood. The low country where we were, was covered only with fruit trees and a kind of wood full of gum, and of little conſiſtence; the hard wood grows upon the mountains. Ereti pointed out to me the trees which I might cut down, and even ſhewed towards which ſide I ſhould fell them.

them. The natives aſſiſted us greatly in our works; our workmen cut down the trees, and made them into faggots, which the iſlanders brought to the boats; they likewiſe gave us their aſſiſtance in making our proviſion of water, filling the caſks, and bringing them to the boats. Their labour was paid in nails, of which the number was proportionate to the work they had done.

I have often in company with only one or two of our people, been out, walking in the interior parts of the iſle, when I thought I was tranſported into the garden of Eden: we croſſed a turf covered with fine fruit trees, and interſected by little rivulets, which keep up a pleaſant coolneſs in the air, without any of thoſe inconveniencies which humidity occaſions. A numerous people there enjoy the bleſſings which nature ſhowers liberally down upon them.

I preſented the chief of the diſtrict in which we were, with a couple of turkies, and ſome ducks and drakes. I likewiſe deſired him to make a garden in our way, and to ſow various ſorts of ſeeds in it; and this propoſal was received with joy. In a ſhort time Ereti prepared a piece of ground, which had been choſen by our gardeners, and got it incloſed; I ordered it to be dug; they admired our gardening inſtruments. They have likewiſe around their houſes a kind of kitchen gardens, in which they plant an eatable hibiſcus or okra, potatoes, yams, and other roots. We ſowed for their uſe ſome wheat, barley, oats, rice, maize, onions, and pot-herbs of all kinds. We have reaſon to believe that theſe plantations will be taken care of; for this nation appeared to love agriculture, and would, I believe, be eaſily accuſtomed to make advantage of their ſoil, which is the moſt fertile in the univerſe.

The latitude of Taiti is ſeven or eight degrees. The ſouthern part of it is entirely unknown to us. The height of the mountains in the interior parts

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is ſurprizing, in reſpect to the extent of the iſland. Far from making its aſpect gloomy and wild, they ſerve only to embelliſh it, offering to the eye many proſpects and beautiful landſcapes covered with the richeſt productions of nature, in that beautiful diſorder which it was never in the power of art to imitate. From thence ſpring a vaſt number of little rivulets, which greatly contribute to the fertility of the country, and ſerve no leſs to ſupply the wants of the inhabitants, than to adorn and heighten the charms of the plains. All the flat country from the ſea ſhore to the foot of the mountains is deſtined for the fruit trees, under which, the houſes of the people of Taiti are built without order, and without forming any villages. One would think himſelf in the Elyſian Fields; public paths, very judiciouſly laid out, and carefully kept in a good condition, form the moſt eaſy communication with every part of the country.

The chief productions of the iſle are cocoa nuts, plantains or bananas, the bread fruit, yams, curaſol, okras, and ſeveral other roots and fruits peculiar to the country; plenty of ſugar canes, which are not cultivated, a ſpecies of wild indigo, a very fine red, and a yellow ſubſtance for dying, of which I cannot ſay from whence they get them. In general, we found the ſame vegetables here, which are common in India. They have many fine pearls.

We have ſeen no other quadrupeds than hogs, a ſmall but pretty ſort of dogs, and rats in abundance. The inhabitants have domeſtic cocks and hens, exactly like ours. They feed their hogs and fowls with nothing but plantains. We have not obſerved great heat in this iſland: during our ſtay, Reaumur's thermometer never roſe above 22 degrees, and was ſometimes at 18 degrees, but it may be obſerved that the ſun was already 8 or 9 degrees on the other ſide of the equator. However, this iſle has another ineſtimable advantage, which is that of not being

being infeſted with thoſe myriads of troubleſome inſects that are the plague of other tropical countries: neither have we obſerved any venomous animals in it. The climate upon the whole is ſo healthy that notwithſtanding the hard work we had done in this iſland, though our men were continually in the water, and expoſed to the meridian ſun, though they ſlept upon the bare ſoil and in the open air, none of them fell ſick there. In ſhort what better proofs can we deſire of the ſalubrity of the air, and the good regimen which the inhabitants obſerve, than the health and ſtrength of theſe ſame iſlanders, who inhabit huts expoſed to all the winds, and hardly cover the earth, which ſerves them as a bed, with a few leaves; the happy old age to which they attain without feeling any of its inconveniencies, the acuteneſs of all their ſenſes, and laſtly the ſingular beauty of their teeth, which they keep even in the moſt advanced age *.

The principal circumſtances mentioned in the anonymous Journal of the Endeavour, are the following: "This iſland, which the commander of the Dolphin, a twenty gun ſhip, had named George's Iſland, is by the natives called Otaheite. The whole length is 15 leagues, and its circumference 40 leagues. The ſoil of the iſland in the more elevated parts is dry, and conſiſts of a red loam, which is very deep; but the vallies are covered with a fertile black mould. The inhabitants may be computed at 70,000. A conſiderable part of Otaheite is cultivated and planted with cocoa nut trees, plantains and bananas, cloth trees, bread trees, yams, and potatoes like thoſe of Europe.

"Leaving Otaheite we ſailed to Oahena, which iſland is fourteen leagues in circuit, nor can the moſt exuberant fancy conceive a more delightful ſpot: the

* Bougainville's Voyage round the World, Ch. ii. and iii.

ſhores

ſhores were adorned with fruit trees of various kinds, eſpecially the cocoa nut, which we ſaw in abundance. The ſoil is extremely fertile, the trees fruitful, and affording the moſt beautiful landſcapes.

" Uliateah is a fruitful iſland, near 40 leagues in circuit, and well watered with rivers, the natives appeared hoſpitable and honeſt, ſelling us a good ſtore of hogs, wild ducks, bread fruit, &c.

" Since our departure from Cape Horn, we had diſcovered fourteen iſlands, all of them before unknown in Europe, and Tobia had deſcribed nine others, beſides a very large one at Eaſt, diſtant about four days ſail, moſtly between the latitude 16 and 22 degrees †. "

We have ſelected theſe paſſages from the journals of theſe voyages, to ſhew the various circumſtances attending George's Iſland, and the neighbouring iſles. We do not ſee or underſtand the reaſon why three ſucceſſive expeditions ſhould by the Engliſh government be made round the world, without any views of planting colonies or fixing ſettlements.

It appears from theſe accounts, that the people of Otaheite are extremely civilized, mild, and agreeable in their tempers, hoſpitable, wonderfully ingenious, ready at imitation, and fond of agriculture: that their iſland is populous as England, and the ſoil as rich as any in the world, and in a climate capable of producing any thing. From the dimenſions of it, we judge it to contain 432,000 acres; 70,000 people therefore make about 6 acres a head, which is about the population of England. What objections could there be to erect a ſmall fort in ſuch an iſland, and to plant a ſmall colony in it; in every thing proceeding fairly with the inhabitants; buying land, and liberty to build, and undertaking the buſineſs, not with a view of any further colonization

† Journal of the Endeavour's Voyage, p. 66. &c.

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(the country being ſo well inhabited at preſent) than ſufficient to form connections with the people, and to give their induſtry ſuch a turn, as to make it productive of commodities proper to trade in. We would have the people taught the culture of ſugar, coffee, and other rich commodities which their ſoil would yield, which ſhould be purchaſed of them with Britiſh manufactures, the want of many of which would preſently ſpread among them; a trade would be eſtabliſhed between the ſettlement and all the neighbouring iſlands; for which purpoſe veſſels ſhould be left, and all conveniencies formed for building, repairing, and careening ſhips, with ſtore-houſes and magazines erected: ſuch a trade would open the way to numerous diſcoveries, probably of great importance. Pearls theſe and their neighbours have in great abundance, as rich an article of commerce as can any where be met with. But the latitude of this cluſter of iſlands, extending from near the line to latitude 22, ſhews that we may reaſonably hope for every thing, by becoming ſo well acquainted with them, as the execution of ſuch a plan would allow. In theſe latitudes are all the richeſt products of the world, ſuch as pay amply for the longeſt voyages. In all probability ſpices would ſoon be found; gold, ſilver, and jewels, are common through the world in theſe climates; but what would make a ſettlement here particularly valuable, is the ſituation of theſe iſlands, which are in the middle of the Pacific ocean, and from whence any expeditions, after further diſcoveries, or voyages in purſuit of commerce, might be made with particular ſafety and eaſe.

We are ſenſible that there might be many objections made to this ſcheme: but no ſcheme can ever be invented or thought of, that is not open to them; and they ought not to prevent the execution, if they do not amount to a greater weight than all the

the advantages which might flow from it, which is impoſſible to be aſſerted, or even conjectured. No nation can pretend to a previous right to theſe iſlands, according to what we eſteem (however falſely) the law and right of nations in Europe: we, as the firſt diſcoverers, have the undiſputed right; and in reſpect to the diſtance from Britain, it is not much greater than to China, from whence we bring commodities, particularly the ordinary China ware, and tea, of ſmall value; much ſmaller value than many which might be had in theſe iſlands: but one of our moſt judicious writers on commerce, (Dr. Campbell) is clearly of opinion, that even an Eaſt India trade carried on acroſs the Pacific Ocean, would turn out much more profitable than by the Cape of Good Hope.

But long voyages are the moſt beneficial of all expeditions to a maritime-power: they breed and employ a hardy race of ſailors, and keep up a ſpirit of boldneſs and enterprize. This is an effect of much greater conſequence to ſuch a nation, than the mere balance of any profitable trade could be.

GREENLAND. The fiſhery upon theſe coaſts is one of the moſt important in the world, as the following account of the Dutch ſhare of it will ſhew.

In forty-ſix years, ending 1721, they employed in it ſhips	6995
Caught whales	32908
Value at £. 500 each -	£. 16,000,000
The medium crew of the ſhips is 40 men and boys; the total number therefore	279,800
Ships per annum	151
Seamen ditto	6000
Value ditto	£. 347,826*

* Political Eſſays, and the authors quoted, p. 541.

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The veſſels moſt proper for the whale-fiſhing, are thoſe we call fly-boats, cats, or hag-boats; they ſhould be very ſtrong built, and particularly doubled at the bow, that they may reſiſt the ſhocks of ice. The ſize of theſe ſhips commonly uſed is about two hundred to five hundred tons; and they are ſupplied with men and ſhallops in proportion to their burthen, as follows:

A ſhip of 200 tons muſt have 4 ſhallops and 29 men and boys.

Ditto of 250 tons, 5 ditto and 36 ditto.

Ditto of 300 tons, 6 ditto and 43 ditto.

Ditto of 450 tons, 7 ditto and 50 ditto.

A veſſel of three hundred, or three hundred and twenty tons, has ſix boats, with ſix harpooners to each, and five ſailors to row, with whom one of the harpooners rows in the bow, and another in the ſtern, theſe boats having no rudder. Every boat muſt have ſeven lines of three inches circumference, five in the ſtern and two in the bow, in readineſs for uſe: the five make together ſix hundred fathoms, which, added to the other two, the whole length is eight hundred and eighty fathoms. If the whale plunges further, or runs under the ice, they muſt cut to ſave themſelves.

Theſe veſſels carry out a vaſt number of lines, harpoons, knives, lances, axes, hooks, and an hundred other implements, by which they conſume the manufactures of a country in a moſt beneficial manner; and, what is of equal or greater conſequence, they breed up a race of perhaps the hardieſt and boldeſt ſeamen of all others; which, to a maritime power, is ſurely of infinite conſequence. Hence ariſes the great expediency of Britain's attempting this fiſhery with more ſpirit than ſhe has hitherto done; and there is no means of doing this effectually, but by increaſing the bounty on the tonnage of the ſhips employed.

GUINEA, Coaſt of. Some propoſals have been made, and with much appearance of good ſenſe, to make ſome uſe of the ſoil of our poſſeſſions on this coaſt, as well as of the trade of it.

Let the ſame climates be examined in other parts of the world, ſays the author, and the ſoil in thoſe climates be compared with the ſoil in the ſame latitudes on this coaſt; and if it is the ſame, or ſo near the ſame, as no viſible difference is found in them, why ſhould they not produce the ſame harveſt, the ſame plants, fruits, drugs, or whatever grows, and is produced in one, why ſhould it not be planted, grow and produce the ſame in the other?

Let us reduce this to practice, and bring the latitude of places together, with the productions proper for thoſe places. For example:

1. The coffee-berry is the natural product of the earth at Mocha, on the eaſtern bank of the Red Sea; and in the ſouth-weſt point of Arabia Felix, in the latitude 13 to 14 degrees, there it grows, thrives, and is produced as it were wild, and with the leaſt help of labour imaginable: what aſſiſtance of art is added to it, is after the fruit is ripened and gathered, viz. in the curing and drying the berry, and preſerving them for a market; and that is to be done in the ſame manner in any part of the world, as well as there.

The diligent Dutch, ſeeing the eaſineſs of the managing and curing the berry, and how that part had no dependance either upon the earth, the air, the water, or any thing elſe more there than in another place, took the hint, and planted the coffee-tree in the iſland of Java, near their city Batavia; there it thrives, bears, and ripens every jot as well as at Mocha; and now they begin to leave off the Red Sea, and bring twenty or thirty tons of coffee at a time from Batavia, in the latitude of 5 degrees ſouth.

Not

Not content with this happy improvement, others of the ſame nation have made the ſame experiment in near the ſame latitude, in another quarter of the world, and with the like ſucceſs; and now they begin to bring large quantities of coffee from Surinam, on the north coaſt of South America, latitude 6½ degrees.

We are told likewiſe, though this, however probable, I do not affirm, that the leſs induſtrious Portugueſe are planting it on the coaſt of Brazil, about the Rio de St. Franciſco, in the latitude of 12 degrees.

If at Batavia and Surinam, in latitude 5 to 6 degrees; if at Mocha, in latitude 14; if at Port Dauphin, in latitude 23½, why not at Seraleon, under Cape de Verd, in latitude 13 to 15 degrees? Why not at Cape Coaſt, and at Accra, in latitude 5 to 6 degrees? and in a word, why not upon all the Grain Coaſt, Tooth Coaſt, Gold and Slave Coaſt, where we have a free poſſeſſion, ſtrength for protection, and ſoil for production?

2. The Sugar Cane. Our ſucceſs with the ſugar canes is well known; it is produced to very great advantage in our iſland-colonies of America. From St. Chriſtophers, in latitude 17¼ degrees, and Jamaica, in latitude 18 to Barbadoes, in latitude 13. It is produced by the Portugueze in the Brazils, in the ſame latitude, ſouth of the line from the port of Fernambuco, in latitude 9, to the bay of All Saints, in 13 degrees, 20 minutes; and it is produced by the Spaniards on the continent of North America, in the provinces of Guaxara, Guatimala, &c. in latitude 14 degres. And why not then by us on the coaſt of Africa, where we have the choice of the country in the very ſame latitude from the Gold Coaſt, in latitude 6, to Cape de Verd, in latitude 15 degrees?

Add to this, the particular advantages which offer themſelves to the planter in ſuch an attempt as this on the coaſt of Africa, which he has not, nor can have in any of thoſe parts where the ſugar is now planted, eſpecially by the Engliſh. For example.

The eaſineſs of procuring negro labourers, which here would not coſt above 4 or 5*l.* a head; whereas they are at this time in Barbadoes and Jamaica worth from 25 to 30*l.* a head; in the Brazils, from 30 to 40 *l.* and to the Spaniards, in the provinces of Guaxara, Guatimala, &c. 50 to 60*l.* a head.

N. B. The difficulty of keeping the negroes from running away, is not ſo great as ſome imagine; ſince as they are brought from diſtant provinces, though it be upon the ſame continent, they know nothing of their own country; nor do they underſtand the language of the next negroes, any more than they do Engliſh; and if they ſhould fly to theſe neighbouring negroes, they would but make ſlaves of them again, and ſell them to the ſhips: ſo that the ſlaves would not be apt to fly, and if they did, the loſs would not be near ſo great as in Jamaica, &c.

The eaſineſs of getting proviſions, which they would be ſo far from fetching from New England, or Ireland, as our colonies of Jamaica and Barbadoes do, and at a very monſtrous rate, that they would be always able to furniſh themſelves, as they do now by the produce of the ſoil: as for rice, Indian corn, or maize, with roots, ſuch as potatoes, parſnips, carrots, plantanes, and innumerable other ſorts, they grow freely upon all the coaſt.

The ſhortneſs of the diſtance, and the ſafe paſſage between England and theſe colonies is ſuch that the voyage is often performed in fifteen or twenty days; whereas eight or ten weeks is counted no bad voyage between Jamaica and London, the expence, as well as other inconveniences of which are exceeding,

exceeding great, and the difference would give the ſugars of Africa a great advantage at market.

3. Planting Tea. Every one that has been the length of Amoy or Chuſan, on the coaſt of China, knows that the tea is produced chiefly in the provinces of Zantung, Nanking, and Canton, as alſo in the iſlands of Japan; moſt of it between the latitudes of 30 and 24 degrees north of the line. With how much greater advantage then of the climate might the ſame plant be produced at Seraleon, and on the Gold Coaſt of Africa, the plants being fetched from China, as well as the methods of curing it.

I need ſay very little to the advantages of raiſing ſuch a profitable plant ſo near home; the thing explains itſelf, and the difficulty of making the experiment ſeems not to be great: nay, I am told, that in the governor's garden, at Cape Coaſt Caſtle, there is, or at leaſt was, a large plant of tea planted, and that it grew and thrived to admiration, and why ſhould it not?

I ſhall conclude this head with one particular, yet more conſiderable than all the reſt; and that is, the great article of the ſpices; ſuch as nutmegs, cloves, and cinnamon: the two laſt are found in the iſland of Ternate and others adjacent, in the latitude of 2 to 4 degrees. The nutmegs indeed are found only at Banda and ſome ſmall iſlands adjoining, and almoſt under the line; and ſo it may be doubtful, except in the ſame latitude, which is farther ſouth than any of our ſettlements in Africa; but the trial might be made of that too.

But as to the clove, it is found in the iſland of Borneo, at Gilolo, and ſeveral other iſlands, from the latitudes of 2 to 7 degrees, which is exactly the climate of our gold coaſt; likewiſe the cinnamon is found in Ceylon, in the latitude of 6 to 7 degrees, and hits punctually with this coaſt; and we can ſee no reaſon why the ſame climate on the ſhore of Africa

may not, by the help of art and induſtry, produce the ſame fruit. I ſum up all with obſerving, that there is no reaſon to doubt but all or moſt of the productions, either of the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, might be produced here, ſuch as cotton, ginger, ſugar, cacao, pimento, indigo, and ſeveral others, known at Jamaica; as alſo the cochineal, the vanelloes, and even the Peruvian bark, if induſtry and application were ſet on work to plant them.

There is a vaſt ocean of improvement in view upon the African coaſt, and as there are, as well on this ſide of the country, as on the Eaſtern ſhores, vaſtly populous nations, nay empires, where there are millions of people yet to trade with who were never traded with before, the prevailing on theſe nations to civilize and govern themſelves according as informed nature would ſoon direct them, would neceſſarily introduce trade, conſume manufactures, employ ſhipping and hands, and in time eſtabliſh ſuch a commerce as would be more than equal to any foreign exportation we have yet to boaſt of *.

Theſe ideas may by ſome perſons be thought too ſanguine; but though objections may eaſily be ſtarted to them, yet we do not think there are any of ſufficient weight, rationally, to prevent a trial of all theſe articles; the expence certainly would not be conſiderable; not to be compared with the advantages which would probably acrue from it.

A Dutch CARGO for the Coaſt of GUINEA.

This cargo contains not only the quantity and quality of the merchandize fit for the negroe trade, but explains alſo what ſhips are beſt for the purpoſe, the requiſite number of ſailors, their wages, and the neceſſary victuals both for Europeans and negroes.

* Poſtlethwayte Art. Guinea.

The

The fitteſt ſhips for theſe coaſts, are thoſe of 200 tons, manned with 50 or 60 ſailors.

The victuals for this number of ſailors for thirteen or fourteen months are

Sixty ſacks of oatmeal.
Sixty ſacks of grey peaſe.
Sixty ſacks of white ditto.
Fifty barrels of beef.
Fifteen barrels of bacon, or ten ſchipponds, each weighing three hundred pounds.
Six barrels of butter.
Four puncheons or two pipes of oil.
Two hundred and fifty cheeſes.
Eight thouſand pounds of biſcuit.
Three hundred loaves of bread, each of half a pound.
Eight thouſand pounds of dry fiſh.
Sixty barrels of beer.
Three hundred pipes of brandy.
Two hundred pounds of candles half wax.
Half a tierce of train oil for lamps.

Victuals for ſix hundred Negroes.

Fourteen laſts or one hundred and fifty two ſacks of oatmeal.
Eight laſts of beans.
Four pipes of brandy, beſides what is neceſſary for the ſailors.
One butt of Spaniſh wine.
One or two pipes of prunes for purging them.
Three hundred pounds of tamarinds for the ſame purpoſe.
Two ciſterns, containing ſixteen tierces of water each, for boiling their beans and oatmeal.

Merchandize for LOANGO and MALIMBA.

Scarlet cloth with broad liſt; blue cloth; yellow cloth a few pieces only; bleached Sileſia lawns; anabaſſes in pieces and half pieces; black flowered ſtuffs; large and ſmall baſons, bells, fuſees, and gunpowder; and a great quantity of brandy.

The expence of this cargoe either for Guinea or Loango, not including the purchaſe of the ſhip, may amount to about three thouſand pounds ſterling.

The goods which the Europeans carry to this part of Africa and barter for ſlaves, gold, and other commodities are chiefly theſe; calicoes, cottons, linen and woollen ſtuffs, ſerges, perpetuanas, wrought iron, pewter, and braſs; ſuch as ſwords, knives, hatchets, nails, hammers, pewter diſhes, plates, pots, and cups, braſs pots, kettles and other houſehold utenſils; fire arms, powder, ſhot; braſs and glaſs toys, beads, bugles, and coris; with brandy, ſpirits, wine, and tobacco. The negroes are extremely fond of braſs ware; and wrought pewter, iron, and lead are good articles; there are likewiſe great quantities of fire arms, gunpowder, ball, cloathing, liquors, and furniture ſent yearly from Europe, for the uſe of the European forts and factories. So that upon the whole, Europeans may export to Africa about the value of 200,000 l. in goods, and may bring from thence annually to the value of 3,000,000 l. in gold, ſlaves, ivory, pepper, gums, and drugs.

Guinea is agreeably diverſified with mountains and vallies, woods and open fields. The hills are adorned with trees of an extraordinary height, the vallies between them being rich and extenſive, proper for the cultivation of all manner of corn and fruits, with villages every where agreeably interſperſed,

ſed, and the country is exceedingly populous. But the moſt pleaſant and fruitful part of the country is that about Whidah, which is repreſented as a perfect paradiſe, if it was not for the unhealthfulneſs of the place with regard to European conſtitutions. However, it may be ſuppoſed that on ſo extenſive a coaſt there is a great deal of deſert ground. Much of this is found upon the Gold coaſt; and other parts of it are ſo overflowed in the rainy ſeaſon, that the ſoil will produce ſcarce any thing but rice; all other corn and moſt of the plants being deſtroyed by the annual floods; but then Widah and other places, make amends for this by their abundant fertility.

As there are a great many petty ſovereigns in Guinea, who are frequently at war with each other, the ſlaves are generally ſuch as are taken in theſe wars, not only men but women and children, for when they invade a country with any ſucceſs, they carry all the inhabitants into captivity. There are alſo a great many others who are made ſlaves for debt, or ſome miſdemeanour, and not only the debtor or criminal loſes his liberty, but frequently his whole family and all that are related to him. Beſides, ſome people ſell even their wives and children when they have offended them; while others leſſen their families under an apprehenſion they ſhall not be able to maintain them; and if a famine or great ſcarcity happens, they will ſell themſelves to one another for bread. In times of peace nothing is more common than for the negroes of one nation to ſteal thoſe of another, and ſell them to the Europeans; there have been alſo inſtances of children ſelling their parents when they have been weary of them, and wanted to enjoy what they had. Theſe are the various ways by which the unhappy negroes are frequently reduced from flouriſhing circumſtances to a ſtate of ſlavery, and brought down to the coaſt to be ſold to the Eu-

ropeans: ſo that all things conſidered, this trade is not ſo inhuman as ſome have repreſented, becauſe if the Europeans did not buy the captives, they would remain ſlaves to their captors, who are the worſt of maſters *.

GUADALOUPE, in 1761, the produce of this iſland at the Britiſh market was

	£.		
Cocoa nuts	11,497	0	0
Coffee	66,261	16	3
Caſſia fiſtula	3,100	8	0
Tamarinds	17	5	0
Dry ginger	2,713	17	0
Sugar	405,022	4	0
Cow hides	508	4	0
Indigo	462	18	0
Cordial waters	27	0	0
Rum	775	0	0
Succades	90	19	6
Cotton	112,792	10	0
Total	603,269	3	9

From this table we ſhall take occaſion to remark that the ideas which actuated the government of Great Britain in the peace of Paris, were of the moſt extraordinary nature that could have ariſen: after a war that had proved ſo extremely expenſive, but which was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that we might have choſen which of our acquiſitions to retain; in ſuch a ſituation, it was extraordinary that they ſhould not fix upon one at leaſt which ſhould have ſome effect in repairing ſo great a waſte of wealth, or weakening the enemy by depriving her of a conſiderable branch of trade and navigation. Our negociators had three objects before them, Canada, the Newfoundland

* Rolt's New Dictionary of Trade and Commerce, Art. Guinea.

fiſhery,

fiſhery, and Guadaloupe; either of the two laſt would have been acquiring ſomething very conſiderable, at the expence of the enemies wealth and ſtrength; but theſe were rejected in favour of Canada, which never paid its own expences, and which employed but ſeven ſmall ſhips. This was our acquiſition in return for the millions we had ſpent, and in ſatisfaction for the floods of wealth we poured into the enemy's hands, by the reſtorations we made them; a reflection, equally if not more melancholy than any which the peace of Utrecht could occaſion, infamous as it was!

H.

HERRING (fiſhery.) The following is the ſtate of the Dutch herring fiſhery in 1748.

It employed ſhips from 70 to 100 tons	1000
Fiſhermen	14000
Seamen, &c.	86000
They caught laſts of fiſh	85000
Worth	£.1,700000

This ſtate of the Dutch fiſhery is ſufficient to ſhew the imenſe importance of it; the following reflections on eſtabliſhing that of Britain are highly juſt.

If the Dutch could catch the herrings on their own coaſts, would not they think themſelves happy to ſave a voyage of 200 leagues? No one certainly that has a mine in Cornwal, would chuſe to lodge his miners in Devonſhire or Wales. As the Weſtern Iſlands are allowed to be the very center of the fiſhery, ſtiled by the Dutch a golden mine, would not reaſon require that they ſhould alſo be the chief reſidence of the fiſhermen, eſpecially as in thoſe parts the fiſhery is not a temporary employment of a few weeks, but might be carried on in different branches almoſt the whole year round?

The

The ſituation, ſoil, and climate of thoſe iſlands, when but conſidered with the leaſt attention, all invite us to make ſettlements on them, if we wiſh to proſecute the fiſhery in a ſucceſsful manner. Their ſituation is admirable, not only as the fiſh ſurround all their coaſts, and fill their bays and creeks, which renders large buſſes unneceſſary, and enables the fiſhermen to ſleep on ſhore ſeveral nights of the week, but alſo as the navigation from them is ſo convenient either to the Northern kingdoms, the Mediterranean, or the Weſt Indies. Their climate is much more mild than that of the oppoſite continent, and their winters are very rarely rigorous. The ſoil, tho' but badly cultivated by the preſent inhabitants, is however ſo fertile that it yields in ſeveral places thirty, ſixty, and even ſometimes an hundred fold. Almoſt all the iſlands contain a great abundance of marle; ſo that were they to be cultivated to their greateſt extent, they would admit of being extremely populous, without any other ſupport beſides agriculture.

But if there was not an inch of mould upon them, ſuch is their happy ſituation for trade, and ſuch the riches of the fiſhery upon their coaſts, that if theſe advantages were improved by the induſtry of men, a flouriſhing city might ſupport itſelf upon each of the larger iſlands. Attica, tho' antiently very populous, was always noted for its barrenneſs. As the Weſtern Iſlands lie ſo conveniently for the navigation to America, and our intercourſe with that continent is daily increaſing; as they enjoy as favourable a climate as thoſe of Zealand, belong to as induſtrious and enterprizing a people, and are ſurrounded with an inexhauſtible fund of wealth, the following century may perhaps ſee many flouriſhing towns upon them, and multitudes of ſhips frequenting their ports. This will not appear a ſurprizing ſuppoſition to a perſon who conſiders the flux of human things.

The

The chief objection hitherto made againſt purſuing the fiſhery, is that the whole profit, and more than the profit, is conſumed by the great expences attending the trade, and indeed according to the meaſures that have yet been obſerved, it could hardly have been expected to have been otherwiſe. The buſſes are built large, as if intended for foreign voyages; they are only employed a few months in the year; they are fitted out at a great expence; the ſailors and fiſhermen are not intereſted in the ſucceſs of the fiſhery, by being made partners in it; and a trifling home conſumption, at extravagant prices, has been more ſtudied than a foreign trade with ſmall profits.

Let the means purſued for the future be but the reverſe of theſe, and we need not deſpair of ſucceſs. Inſtead of laying up the buſſes half the year in places remote from the center of the trade, and where the charge of repairs is rendered expenſive, by the high price both of materials and men's labour, let magazines and ſtore houſes be formed in the Weſtern Iſles, which lie equally convenient for receiving naval ſtores from the Baltic or America. The company thus having dock yards of their own, and workmen at low wages, the charge of fitting out, and of repairs, would be conſiderably diminiſhed, and the fiſhermen being conſtantly employed almoſt at their own doors, in ſmall veſſels, for nine or ten months of the year, the profits of the trade would be greatly increaſed.

The diſcharged carpenters and ſailors ought to be tempted, by conſiderable advantages and immunities, to make thoſe iſlands the place of their habitation. Thoſe of them who are married, ought each of them to have ſome ſmall allowance for building an houſe; for their private ſtocks cannot be ſuppoſed to be large, and to have a home that a

erſon

perſon can call his own, is no ſmall inducement to ſobriety and induſtry. Foreign fiſhermen, even without ſuch encouragement, have ſeemed inclined to take up their reſidence in the iſlands ſubject to Britain: were the government, therefore, to invite them by the offer of immunities and privileges, it is but reaſonable to expect that great numbers from Hamburgh, Norway, and Holland, would embrace the opportunity of living under our laws. Mr. Martin, in his account of the Weſtern Iſles, tells us, "That after the reſtoration, a few Dutch families ſettled in Stornway, in the Iſle of Lewis; but ſome cunning merchants, found means, by the ſecretaries, to prevail on king Charles to ſend them away, though they not only brought money into the iſland, but taught the inhabitants ſomething of the art of fiſhing. The ſmall idea of fiſhing they had from the Dutch has had ſuch an effect, as to make the people of the little village of Stornway to excell all thoſe of the neighbouring iſles and continent ever ſince that time: and the inhabitants of the town of Lerwick, in Zetland, in the ſpace of thirty years, increaſed from three or four families to three hundred, chiefly by the arrival of foreigners."—By the former of theſe inſtances it appears, that if foreigners could be tempted to ſettle on thoſe iſlands, they would not only contribute to the national wealth and ſtrength by their own induſtry, but would alſo inſtruct the natives how to earn a ſubſiſtence: many of whom, we are told by the ſame author, tranſmigrate annually into other countries for want of knowing how to employ themſelves at home.

If the ſailors and fiſhermen were to ſhare in the ſucceſs of the fiſhery, it is natural to conclude, that they would be more attentive to improve all opportunities and advantages; and in caſe of an unſucceſsful ſeaſon, or any other croſs accident, the loſs would not fall ſo heavy on thoſe who employed their

money in promoting the trade. In Holland, and ſeveral places of North Britain, the cuſtom is, that the ſeamen go out adventurers, and they themſelves, it is ſaid, look upon this as the moſt reaſonable and encouraging way. No good argument, I think, can be aſſigned for not making this the general practice through the whole trade. Let no workmen, therefore, be employed in any branch of the fiſhery, excluſive of the twine-ſpinners, net-makers, and others in the moſt ſervile offices, unleſs they agree to go ſharers in the profit and loſs of the trade: that is, let the ſhip-carpenters, rope-makers, ſail-makers, coopers, ſailors, and fiſhermen, be jointly concerned with the merchant in fitting a buſs for the ſea, by which method, if they can but merely ſave themſelves from being loſers by the fiſhing, they are ſeverally gainers, having procured employment each in his reſpective occupation.

As the forming of docks, erecting magazines, dreſſing of hemp, ſpinning of twine, and making of nets, would be great articles of expence, the following propoſal, for removing in a great meaſure that heavy charge, may perhaps deſerve the conſideration of the public.

Let all the convicts, who, according to the preſent method, are annually tranſported from Britain to America, be for the future ſent to ſome of the ſmall Weſtern Iſlands, cloſe adjoining to the greater ones, and employed as ſlaves in hard labour on the different branches above mentioned. Were they to be tranſported to the ſmall Weſtern Iſles, as to ſo many priſons, and there kept to hard labour, with an allowance of coarſe fair and mean lodging and cloathing, the dread of ſuch a puniſhment would doubtleſs be a greater reſtraint upon many villains, than Tyburn itſelf.

The people at home, who are fond of faſhionable novelties, giving extravagant prices for Britiſh herrings,

rings, foreign markets were thereupon ſlighted, as the ſmall profits they yielded bore no proportion to the expenſive manner of carrying on the trade. The great home conſumption, however, was but of very ſhort continuance, the dearneſs of the commodity having ſoon abated the ardour of the people for purchaſing it; and the demand ceaſing at home, the courſe of the trade, which had ſcarce any other demand, was immediately ſtopped. There is plainly not the leaſt need of any public encouragement for ſupplying the markets at home, where the commodity is ſo plentiful, and in ſuch a ſuper-abundance, that the people, for want of knowing how to diſpoſe of the fiſh they caught, have often been obliged to uſe them as manure for their lands. When fiſh are in ſuch plenty on any, even the remoteſt coaſts of Britain, nothing but extortion, or miſmanagement can make them dear in any of our great cities that have a free communication with the ſea. The bounty, therefore, ought to be limited ſolely to thoſe fiſh that are carried to a foreign market; and conſidering this gratuity, and the great ſuperiority of our natural advantages, were we to ſtudy carefully the leaſt expenſive methods of conducting the trade, by carrying it on through all the ſeaſons, and by building and fitting out the buſſes, where workmanſhip and naval ſtores were at low prices, there is the greateſt reaſon to expect, we might ſoon be able to underſell the Dutch at foreign ports.

The herrings, as they fall from the net, are reckoned to coſt the Dutch 6 *s.* a barrel, and it is computed that we might have them for 2 *s.* Mr. Martin even ſays, that they have been bought in the Weſtern Iſles for 4 *d.* a barrel. The Dutch have no ſalt of their own, but are obliged to buy part of what they uſe of us. Naval ſtores can be carried from the Baltic to the Weſtern Iſlands as cheap as from thence to Holland. The ports of Britain are open all the year

year round; but ſeveral of thoſe of Holland are often frozen up for months together. We lie more convenient than the Dutch for the navigation to America, and to the ſouthern and northern parts of Europe; and if they can fare hard, and be very laborious, they are in thoſe points exceeded by the bold fiſhermen of the Weſtern and Northern Iſlands, who ſatisfy themſelves by a very ſcanty ſubſiſtence, and make no ſcruple of braving the wintry ſeas in ſmall open boats.

To ſucceed in eſtabliſhing the fiſhery, I believe, it would be found prudent not to aim at carrying it on all at once in the moſt extenſive manner; for it may be doubted, whether ſuch attempts have not been among the chief cauſes of the ſmall progreſs we have hitherto made in this valuable trade. Suppoſe a company of the richeſt merchants in the nation had attempted, in the infancy of our hardware-manufacture, to enlarge it at once to its preſent extent, by undertaking to build ſuch a city as Birmingham in four or five ſummers, and to people it with manufacturers in that branch, they would have found the enterprize too hard for them; and, the profits no way compenſating the expence, the deſign would have abſolutely ruined the undertakers. In like manner were the fiſhery to be proſecuted in all the large ſea-port towns; the detached equipments would, from the general unacquaintedneſs with the new branch of buſineſs, become very expenſive, and the profits for the ſame reaſon be but inconſiderable; which would quickly bring the trade under diſrepute, and make the adventurers lay aſide all thoughts of proſecuting it. If we ſhould light a great number of ſmall tapers in different places, they would be liable to be blown out with every blaſt; but were we to examine where there is the greateſt abundance of fewel, and to light up a ſmall fire in that ſpot, it would ſoon gather ſtrength, and gradually

gradually widen its circle, till it became a large blaze. Let us, therefore, give our chief attention to promote the fiſhery in thoſe places, where the natural advantages for carrying it on are moſt apparent, and no matter how ſmall, or how weak its firſt beginnings are; if we perſevere in cheriſhing a vital principle, it will increaſe annually, and in a ſhort time diffuſe itſelf widely through the whole nation. The reſtricting the chief bounties and privileges to thoſe who ſhould fiſh in the Weſtern Iſlands, could not in the leaſt make the undertaking the leſs national. How many, who have plantations in the Weſt Indies, manage their concerns in thoſe remote iſlands, without ſtirring out of Britain? It could not then be thought difficult for the merchants of London, or of other cities in Britain, to tranſact buſineſs in the Weſtern Iſles, which are ſo ſituated that the correſpondence of letters could not meet with the leaſt interruption *.

HOPS. Groſs produce of the duty on hops, for one year, ending 5th July, 1771.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Barum	43	9	2
Bath	4	6	6
Bedford	48	16	0
Bucks	19	9	4
Cambridge	64	15	5
Canterbury	27,650	4	2
Cornwall	121	8	5
Derby	406	11	0
Doncaſter	15	4	4
Dorſet	14	6	2½
Eſſex	2781	19	8
Exon	15	10	3
Glouceſter	23	10	5

* Reflections on the Domeſtic Policy, proper to be obſerved on the Concluſion of a Peace, 1763, p. 25.

Grantham

Grantham	43	11	0
Hants	8324	12	11
Hereford	7065	2	4
Hertford	55	12	8
Lincoln	1798	7	4
Lynn	22	7	3
Manchester	75	13	10
Northampton	2	6	5
Norwich	22	16	2
Oxon	0	8	11
Reading	1221	7	11½
Rochester	28,243	12	8½
Sarum	129	15	8½
Salop	9	2	0½
Sheffield	704	18	8
Suffolk	1191	10	0
Surry	138	17	11
Suſſex	13,687	2	8½
Taunton	6	13	0
Tiverton	4	11	4½
Wales East	0	15	4½
Wales Middle	19	9	0
Wales Weſt	4	7	8
Wolverhampton	4340	14	10
Worceſter	2811	14	4½
Total	£. 101,131	2	11½

By the foregoing account, it appears, that the two places, Canterbury and Rocheſter, both in the county of Kent, grow more hops than all the other parts of the kingdom and Wales put together.

HOLLAND. The Dutch annually raiſe between two and three millions ſterling in time of peace, out of which they pay their land forces, conſiſting of about 50,000 men, as well foreigners as national troops. Beſides, they have ſeldom leſs than fifty men of war in commiſſion, either em-

ployed in protecting their trade, or to be ready when the ſtate may have occaſion for them: but in time of war they augment their forces to 100,000 men, and are able to fit out very formidable fleets, as the hiſtory of this republic can teſtify. Their taxes are raiſed by an almoſt general exciſe; for there is ſcarce any thing in the whole country, but ſome duty or another is laid upon it. In time of war they uſually levy a poll-tax, a land-tax, or the two hundredth penny, and the chimney, or hearth-money; but every province and city vary their taxes, as they think fit, provided they furniſh the quota demanded by the ſtates general, who never give any directions concerning the method of raiſing it. But though the Dutch tax every thing that is conſumed at home, by eating, drinking, cloathing, &c. they take care that the duties on merchandiſe ſhall be extremely low, both on importation and exportation; which makes this country a free port in a manner, and draws moſt of the commerce of Europe *. Holland and Zealand do not contain above one million of Engliſh acres.

Holland and Zealand pays 67 *l.* of 100 *l.* paid by all the United Provinces, and the city of Amſterdam pays 27 of that 67 *l.* Amſterdam hath paid 800,000 *l.* per annum, and Holland and Zealand hath paid 2,100,000 *l.*

The exciſe of victual at Amſterdam ſeems above half the original value of the ſame, viz. ground-corn pays 20 ſtivers the buſhel, or 63 gilders the laſt; beer 113 ſtivers the barrel; houſing one-ſixth of the rent; fruit one-eighth of what it coſt; other commodities, one-ſeventh, one-eighth, one-ninth, and one-twelfth; Salt *ad libitum*: all weighed goods pay, beſides the premiſes, a vaſt ſum.

If Holland and Zealand pay per ann. 2,100,000 *l.* then all the provinces together muſt pay about

* Grand Tour, Vol. I. p. 32.

3,000,000 *l.*

3,000,000 *l.* leſs than which ſum per ann. perhaps, is not ſufficient to have maintained the naval war with England, 72,000 land-forces, beſides all other the ordinary charges of their government, whereof the church is there a part.

Holland is a level country, ſo as in any part thereof a windmill may be ſet up, and by its being moiſt and vaporous, there is always wind ſtirring over it, by which advantage the labour of many thouſand hands is ſaved; foraſmuch as a mill made by one man in half a year, will do as much labour as four men for five years together. This advantage is greater or leſs, where employment or eaſe of labour is ſo; but in Holland it is eminently great, and the worth of this conveniency is near 150,000*l.*

In Holland and Zealand there is ſcarce any place of work, or buſineſs, one mile diſtant from a navigable river; and the charge of water-carriage is generally but one-fifteenth, or one-twentieth part of land carriage. The value of this conveniency I eſtimate to be above 300,000 *l.* per annum.

Thoſe who have their ſituation thus to the ſea, and abound with fiſh at home, and having alſo the command of ſhipping, have by conſequence the fiſhing-trade; whereof that of herrings alone brings more yearly profit to the Hollanders, than the trade of the Weſt Indies to Spain, or of the Eaſt to themſelves; as many have affirmed, being as the ſame ſay, *viis & modis* of above three millions per ann. profit.

One hundred years ago, the Hollanders were a poor and oppreſſed people, living in a country naturally cold, moiſt, and unpleaſant, and were withall perſecuted for their heterodoxy in religion.

From hence it neceſſarily follows, that this people muſt labour hard, and ſet all hands to work: rich and poor, young and old, muſt ſtudy the art of number, weight, and meaſure; muſt fare hard,

provide for impotents and for orphans, out of hope to make profit by their labours; muſt puniſh the lazy by labour, and not by crippling them: I ſay, all theſe particulars, ſaid to be the ſubtle excogitations of the Hollanders, ſeem to me but what could not almoſt have been otherwiſe.

Liberty of conſcience, regiſtry of conveyances, ſmall cuſtoms, banks, lombard and law-merchant, riſe all from the ſame ſpring, and tend to the ſame ſea; as for lowneſs of intereſt it is alſo a neceſſary effect of all the premiſes, and not the fruit of their contrivance *.

POLITICS.

All the ſenſible and diſintereſted part of the Dutch nation, are by this time convinced, that the notion of a perfect democracy, and a form of government founded on an equality of wealth and power, is mere deluſion, invented and preached up by ſuch as mean to poſſeſs themſelves of as much of both as they can poſſibly graſp, and then cover themſelves and their aſſociates with the ſpecious title of the rulers of a free people, when they are in fact no more than leaders of a certain faction. The nation muſt be ſatisfied from experience, that ſuch a regimen as this, participates of both extremes, of tyranny and anarchy; inclining to the former in a ſeaſon of full peace, and declining towards the latter in a time of trouble. The Dutch nation muſt by this time apprehend, that the only natural poize in their conſtitution, is the power of a ſtadtholder; in whom an exceſs of authority can never be apprehended, while that innate love of liberty, for which they have been ever famous, continues to glow in their boſoms, and whoſe authority will by degrees extinguiſh thoſe attempts that crafty and ſeditious

* Petty's Political Arithmetic, p. 115.

men

men may inſpire their tools to make, in order to create freſh confuſions. Harmony and perfection are the works of time, as well as wiſdom, and the continuance of peace will, without doubt, bring them to that maturity which will effectually reſtore the domeſtic ſtate of their affairs.

As to the foreign intereſts of this republic, they conſiſt in living upon good terms with her neighbours, in the ſtrict performance of treaties, and in the maintenance of the balance of power. A good correſpondence with her neighbours is an eſſential point of policy with reſpect to this ſtate; becauſe the chief dependence of her ſubjects is on commerce, which is incompatible with an unſettled ſtate of things. This maxim, however, muſt not be adhered to, without due deference for the other two; ſince peace, like gold, may be bought too dear; and nothing can be ſo prejudicial to commerce, as to make it a pretence for betraying the dignity, and ſinking the credit of the ſtate, by which it muſt in time be weakened, and in the end loſt. Alliances and treaties of a defenſive nature, are to be made with great deliberation; but are ſacred when once concluded, and muſt be at all events fulfilled, that the republic may have a clear title to the aſſiſtance of her allies, whenever her circumſtances may require it. But that peace may produce thoſe fruits that are expected from it; that the endeavours of the republic may prove ſucceſsful in the cauſe of her friends; and that her allies may never be deterred from complying with their engagements in her favour, it is abſolutely neceſſary that the balance ſhould be preſerved: for this maxim, as it gave being to the republic which was ſupported in its infancy, in order to leſſen the exorbitant power of Spain; ſo if ever the balance ſhould be loſt, it is ſure to feel the bad effects of it firſt, and in the moſt imminent degree. As theſe are truths which

may be demonſtrated from reaſon, ſo they have been more than once juſtified by experience, ſince the affairs of Europe were never at a criſis in this reſpect, but thoſe of the United Provinces were in the utmoſt danger.

In the North it is apparently the intereſt of Holland to ſupport the independency of the ſeveral powers in that part of Europe: her wiſeſt ſtateſmen have always maintained this, and when her affairs have been beſt managed, ſhe has acted accordingly. Her fleets have more than once ſecured the kingdom of Denmark from being totally overwhelmed; and ſhe has frequently felt in return the good effects of her wiſe and laudable concern for the Danes.

It is impoſſible to reflect on the ſituation of the territories of the republic, without perceiving how great an intereſt ſhe has in preſerving the balance between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, and of what importance it is to her ſafety, as well as proſperity, that the former ſhould not be oppreſſed. She is likewiſe obliged to have a conſtant attention to the princes of Germany, who on the other ſide have very powerful reaſons to live upon good terms with her, and when her affairs require it, to yield her any aſſiſtance that ſhe wants: but above all, ſhe is bound to maintain a perfect friendſhip with his Pruſſian majeſty, as well on account of the vaſt acceſſion of power which that monarch has obtained, as his being her near neighbour, in conſequence of having part of Guelderland yielded to him by the treaty of Utrecht; the dutchy of Cleves, by his treaty of partition with the elector palatine; the diſtricts that fell to him, as joint heir of king William the Third; and the principality of Eaſt Friezland, which is acquired by the extinction of the line of its ancient princes. With all theſe powers, the republic is under engagements by ſolemn treaties; and it is by an exact performance of theſe that ſhe muſt maintain

maintain her rank, her reputation, and the benefits which reſult to her ſubjects from the conſtitution of her government; which in virtue of thoſe treaties, all theſe powers are bound to maintain.

In reference to the balance of Italy ſhe has alſo conſiderable intereſt; reſulting from the large ſhare of commerce which her ſubjects enjoy in the Mediterranean and the Levant, and which will always depend on the preſerving the independence of the princes and ſtates in that part of Europe; ſo that ſhe is bound to promote that as far as in her lies; and in times paſt has ſhewn a due regard to this obligation. She has beſides ſome particular engagements with the Swiſs cantons and their allies; and has for a long courſe of years had a conſiderable corps of their infantry in her ſervice, who with great courage and fidelity have fought in ſupport of her liberties, whenever they were in danger.

Laſtly, there is nothing clearer than that it is her true intereſt to live in perfect harmony with Great Britain; inaſmuch as both countries have continually reaped the greateſt advantages when this union has ſubſiſted; and have both felt, and ſtill feel, the bad effects of being ſet at variance, and employing their maritime forces againſt each other, through the intrigues of their common enemies. It is indeed true, that each of theſe powers have an equal intereſt in commerce; but while they live upon good terms, and conſult their reſpective intereſts only, they can, without any difficulty, regulate the views of their ſubjects, ſo as to prevent their claſhing with each other, and for the common benefit of both, which in the preſent ſituation of things is far eaſier than in former times; and perhaps too of greater conſequence than ever, conſidering the new ſchemes that are every day formed, and are ſtill forming, in different parts of Europe, with a tendency equally

prejudicial to the trade of both*. See UNITED PROVINCES.

HORSES. There have been numerous complaints of late years againſt the number of horſes kept in England; as occaſioning the high price of proviſions, at the ſame time that no valuable effects reſulted from them, which would not equally flow from the uſe of oxen in their ſtead. We muſt confeſs ourſelves entirely of this opinion. The mere dearneſs of proviſions (which, however, can only be very partially owing to this) is not perhaps a great evil; but the home conſumption of any commodity, which uſed formerly to be exported, makes an eſſential difference in the balance of the nation's wealth. This is the effect of keeping ſuch numbers of horſes; formerly we raiſed wheat and barley enough to export half a million of quarters, worth a million ſterling; but the extreme high price of oats has made it ſo profitable to cultivate them, that the farmers have leſſened the quantities of their other grain, in order to increaſe this: the other ſorts were ſent abroad, and money brought into the kingdom in return; but the oats are all conſumed at home: this, therefore, is an undoubted evil.

Home conſumption in many caſes is an advantage; becauſe various branches of exportation may depend on it, or other good effects reſult from it; but in this caſe there is no good. Horſes are abſolutely neceſſary only in draught and huſbandry; and if we could ſubſtitute no other beaſt inſtead of them, we ought to promote their increaſe; but an ox at the ſame time that he does all his work, brings with him none of the attendant evils: for which reaſon, the uſe of oxen ſhould by all means be encouraged,

* Preſent State of Europe, p. 504.

We

We ſee no effectual means of doing this, but by laying a tax upon all horſes: ſuppoſe, for inſtance, of twenty ſhillings a year on all not employed in huſbandry; ten ſhillings on all employed in huſbandry; and five ſhillings on all colts not yet put to work: this tax would raiſe a conſiderable revenue, or work the beneficial conſequences expected from it. There are, it is true, objections againſt taxes on property: they ought to be laid on conſumption; but that reaſoning is not univerſal. We have a tax upon coach-wheels, or rather a tax laid on every man who uſes coach-wheels, which is as abſolute as any on horſes could be: not to mention the land-tax, or that on plate, in which we directly pay for poſſeſſing valuable property. Theſe two inſtances of taxes are open to numerous objections; a man ought never to pay, becauſe he is poſſeſſed of property, which is as beneficial to the ſtate as to himſelf. It is, however, different with horſes; they can be beneficial only to himſelf, but pernicious to the ſtate: he has it in his power to chooſe oxen, and eſcape the tax: you tax a French cloth, and leave an Engliſh one untaxed; let your ſubjects uſe one, but not the other: the one is beneficial to the ſtate, the other the reverſe. This is the caſe with horſes and oxen: no man need pay the tax if he will uſe oxen inſtead of horſes; wear Engliſh cloth, inſtead of French cloth.

Many other circumſtances favour the idea of ſuch a tax; among which we ſhall only touch upon a few: 1. The revenue would flouriſh from it; for ſuch a tax would bring in not leſs than a million ſterling net into the exchequer. 2. It would be a proportionable tax, in reſpect of equality, more than perhaps any other that could be deviſed; for the income of moſt men is pretty exactly ſhewn, by proportion, in the number of their horſes. 3. It would be taxing a great branch of luxury, which employs

employs none of our poor, nor ſets any induſtry at work, which is the merit of moſt other branches of luxury. 4. No tax could be levied in a cheaper or eaſier way.

For theſe reaſons, among others, it would be a political meaſure of excellent tendency, and do more in advancing the numerous intereſts of this country, than almoſt any tax that could be thought of; having all the merit of cuſtoms on foreign manufactures.

J.

JAPAN, an iſland and empire in Aſia, too well known to require a geographical or hiſtorical deſcription; but the trade of it is of too much conſequence to be paſſed over without an article.

Niphon, which is the principal of the Japan iſles, is 260 leagues long, and from 60 to 100 broad. They are in from 31 to 42 N. latitude. All the iſlands are about the ſize of the Britiſh iſles, and Niphon ſomething larger than Great Britain. The commodities of Japan are fewer than one would imagine, conſidering that it is as fertile a country, and the people as induſtrious as any in the world. The reaſon of this is becauſe they chuſe to deal with ſtrangers for ready money: that is to ſay, for ſilver; which is at once a commodity, and the meaſure of all commodities here. They have great quantities of gold; but the exportation of it is forbid, under the ſevereſt penalties. Sulphur alſo abounds in this country to a prodigious degree, ſo that vaſt quantities are annually diſpoſed of, without any danger of exhauſting their ſtock. But the grand commodity, in point of value next to ſilver, is copper, of which they have likewiſe prodigious quantities, which at the ſame time is by much the fineſt in the world: they formerly ſold it with a great mixture of gold, but they have now found a way to extract that;

yet their copper remains ſtill in very high and juſt repute. They have very fine pearls, and great quantities of mother of pearl, which they do not much eſteem: ambergris, and other rich drugs, are likewiſe to be met with. There is alſo very fine ſilk of ſeveral ſorts, which they ſell very reaſonably, though at the ſame time they purchaſe China ſilk, which is not ſo good as their own; but in all probability this is with a view to ſome manufacture, for which it is moſt proper.

All ſorts of cabinet-work, and lacquered ware, they make in the utmoſt perfection, as they do likewiſe their porcelain, or earthen ware. This was formerly much finer and much ſtronger than it is now made, and therefore the old Japan ware is very valuable, even in that country. Some eſteem their tea much better than that of China, which is, however, only true upon the ſpot; for as its flower is more delicate, ſo it is ſooner loſt when the herb comes to be tranſported; and therefore, however ſome ſorts of Japan tea may be valued in the Indies, we never can expect to ſee them in equal perfection here in Europe.

They neither ſend nor receive ambaſſadors in the manner other nations do; and though formerly the government ſo far complied with the deſires of ſuch as were of a mercantile genius, as to permit them to trade in certain countries, under abundance of reſtrictions; yet they have ſince thought fit to revoke theſe licences: and their ſubjects now carry on no foreign trade at all, at leaſt with the permiſſion of the government. As to their inland commerce, it is, and always was, very great.

The Dutch are forbidden to ſend any ſhips to Japan that have any figures whatever at their ſterns; becauſe the Japaneſe conſider theſe as inſults on their religion, ſome of theſe figures having accidentally reſembled their idols. They are reſtrained from

from ſending goods beyond the value of 380,000 taels per ann. As ſoon as their ſhips arrive, they fall immediately under the power of the Japaneſe, who take all their cannon, ſmall arms, ſails, cordage, and ſpare anchors, into their poſſeſſion. The crews of theſe ſhips are confined to an iſland, as well as the people of the factory, unleſs they have a licence granted them to go into the city; and even this is reſtrained to four at a time. The prices of the goods are ſet by the Japaneſe directors of the trade, as are likewiſe the prices of the goods they take in exchange; and ſales are made when and how they pleaſe.

The Dutch ſend annually four ſhips to Japan, of between thirty and fifty pieces of cannon; but they are indifferently armed for two reaſons: firſt, there is little or no danger in theſe ſeas; and ſecondly, that they may give the leſs ſuſpicion to the Japaneſe, who do not care to ſee ſhips of great force upon their coaſt. Theſe veſſels are laden with ſuch European and Indian goods as are in demand at Japan; ſuch as Engliſh and Dutch cloths, camblets of all colours; brocades gold and ſilver; very rich ſilks of all colours, and eſpecially crimſon and white; raw ſilks, raw cotton, and ſpun cotton; tapeſtries, lead, ſteel, and ſublimate; ſugars of all ſorts; ſpices of all kinds; Morocco leather, and all ſorts of ſkins, particularly buck and doe; of which they carry a prodigious quantity, and about half the quantity of ox-hides.

It is allowed that the commerce of Japan is very much ſunk to the Dutch, to what it was in point of profit; and it is likewiſe true, that great loſſes are frequently ſuſtained therein: but after all it is ſtill very conſiderable; ſo that on the beſt computation that can be made, it produces annually to the company better than five millions of guilders, or half a million ſterling, excluſive of the great advantages that

that reſult from the diſtribution of the effects brought from Japan over all the Indies, which may perhaps amount to as much more *.

The ſame author has given ſome very ſenſible obſervations on the means and importance of recovering our trade to Japan.

The means therefore that I ſhould propoſe, would be the landing, in the northern part of the great iſland of Niphon, two or three perſons properly inſtructed, who, under pretence of ſhipwreck, might deſire and obtain a paſſage to the Dutch port; and as this is the biggeſt of the three iſlands that compoſe the empire of Japan, I conceive, that in their paſſage acroſs it, they might have many opportunities; eſpecially if they took pains to learn the language, to inform a people ſo inquiſitive as theſe are, of the particulars which it concerns us moſt that they ſhould know; and if at a proper ſeaſon a ſhip ſhould be ſent from the coaſt of China to the port of Nangazaqui, to enquire after theſe people, it might afford us an opportunity of feeling the pulſes at leaſt of the Japaneſe once more.

I foreſee a multitude of objections that may be made to this ſcheme; ſuch as, that it will be found extremely hard, if not impoſſible, to meet with perſons either capable, or willing to undertake it. But I have conſidered theſe objections, and I do not think they have much weight. There are ſo many people who at this juncture ſhip themſelves for the Eaſt Indies, in the moſt low and laborious ſtations, in hopes of bettering their fortunes, that I am perſuaded, if a reward of three thouſand pounds, or ſome ſuch ſum, was promiſed to be paid immediately on their coming back, there would not want ſome who would offer themſelves for this ſervice; and then, as to their capacities, they might be tried,

* Harris's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 304.

and

and even improved, before they were ſent; and they might have ſuch inſtructions given them, though not in writing, for that might hazard all by being found upon them, as might enable them to execute this commiſſion with great probability of ſucceſs.

That they ſhould at once obtain a privilege, and ſettled trade there, is what I am not ſanguine enough to expect; nor is it what I mean by the probability of executing their commiſſion with ſucceſs: but that they might be able to learn ſome news of the Japaneſe, and carry them ſome news of us, which in time, and with proper helps, might come to ſomewhat, is what I cannot help thinking very probable: at leaſt it is apparent, that if ſome attempt of the kind be not made, we can never hope for any thing; and to deſpair in a matter of trade is incompatible with the true ſpirit of a trading nation, and with ours more eſpecially.

But if, while we conſider all attempts of this ſort as chimerical or impracticable, any other nation ſhould ſtep in, and either expel the Dutch, or ſhare with them in that commerce, it will be a very high reflection upon us who may pretend to it, with at leaſt as great, if not greater hopes than any other. That this conjecture of ſome other nation's making an attempt of this nature, is not abſolutely wild or groundleſs, may appear from the endeavours of the Ruſſians, who have actually reached in their diſcoveries ſome iſlands, the inhabitants of which make uſe of money ſtamped with Japaneſe characters, from whence it is with great probability conjectured, that they are vaſſals at leaſt, if not ſubjects, to that empire. There are other nations too, which have found their way to the Eaſt Indies, and the coaſts of China, though it was thought they laboured under inſuperable difficulties; and why they ſhould not be able to extend their commerce further, and even reach Japan, is what no good reaſon can be aſſigned

aſſigned to prove, any more than I apprehend any ſolid cauſe can be ſhewn why we ſhould not endeavour to be beforehand with them in a point of ſuch conſequence.

But perhaps ſome critic may demand, how do you know it is of ſuch conſequence? How can you take upon you to aſſert ſo confidently, things relating to a place and people at ſuch a diſtance? How can you tell that all theſe points have not been long ago conſidered by better judges than yourſelf, and ſuch projects as you propoſe upon ſubſtantial motives rejected? Or what reaſon is there, that you expect the ſchemes you form in your cloſet, ſhould ſerve for rules to ſuch as are better acquainted with theſe matters than yourſelf? I am very ſenſible, that there are a race of ill-natured people in the world, very capable of throwing out ſuch reflections as theſe: and I know too, that many of them do it againſt the conviction of their own minds, and merely from a ſpirit of envy. But, however, as ſuch queſtions may have a bad effect on the minds of a better ſort of people, by which I mean perſons of an honeſter diſpoſition, and who really wiſh well to the public, and yet are led away by ſuch trite animadverſions, for want of a due meaſure of attention, I think it may not be amiſs, for their ſakes, to examine ſuch notions once for all; and to ſhew, that however ſpecious they may appear at firſt ſight, they have in reality no foundation.

In the firſt place, I muſt obſerve, that the theory of trade may be as well acquired from books and inquiries, as from being actually concerned in it; and that experience ſhews us the moſt extenſive projects, and ſuch as have been attended with the greateſt ſucceſs, have been formed by ſpeculative men, who by reaſoning upon facts, have been able to form much better judgments with reſpect to commerce, than thoſe from whom they received the facts upon which

which they argued. But to come closer to the point, and by answering these questions so far as they regard this subject, to put an end to this dispute, since the same answers will serve with equal truth and certainty on any other occasion: if we know the situation and extent of a country, its climate, soil, product, and manufactures, we can very easily, and with the utmost certainty determine, whether it be a country worth visiting, and what kind of commodities are like to have a vent there. In this there is nothing that requires a very extraordinary degree of penetration or sagacity. For, in whatever climate men live, they must have food and raiment, and in proportion as they are civilized, they will not only desire the necessaries, but aspire also to the conveniencies of life; and what we call the instruments of luxury, which may also be suited to their humours, if we have a tolerable account of the manners and customs of the people.

We know very well what commodities and manufactures of ours are taken off in Spain, Portugal, and part of France; and therefore when we know, that the best part of the empire of Japan lies in pretty near the same situation, we cannot be much at a loss for the goods the inhabitants of that country are like to take off our hands, in case we had an open trade with them: but to be more certain in this case, we have it in our power to learn what the Dutch carry thither; and upon inquiry we shall find they are chiefly scarlet and other fine cloths, camblets, serges, and our own kerseys, together with some silk manufactures; such as rich damasks, brocades, fine night-gowns, and in general a great variety of linen, woollen, and cotton cloths; together with glass and stone wares, coral, and many other things. We may, therefore, with great confidence pronounce, that if the way were once opened to us, we might be able to vend a vast quantity of the natural

tural commodities and manufactures of our country there.

Beſides, ſince the diſcoveries made by the Ruſſians, it is very certain that the countries to the north of Japan, particularly the great peninſula Kamtſchatka, which perhaps is the continent of Jedzo, is very thoroughly peopled by inhabitants that are much inclined to trade; and who, from the coldneſs of their climate, muſt neceſſarily ſtand in need of our coarſer cloths, and other manufactures of the like kind.

If the vaſt diſtance between us and them be objected, let us conſider how the Dutch carry on this trade, who are not at all nearer them than we; for if they can manage it with eaſe, the ſame method will ſurely render it practicable for us. They fit out their ſhips from their ſettlements in the Indies, viz. Batavia and Malacca; and as we have ſettlements in the Indies too, our ſhips may be fitted out from thence: and if even theſe ſettlements are at too great a diſtance, this is no invincible objection; ſince there ſeems to be no cauſe why we ſhould not attempt at leaſt to open this trade from the coaſt of China, where we had formerly a factory in the iſland of Chuſan; and there is no doubt but that we might either obtain that, or another more convenient again, if we apply for it.

As to the ſentiments of people who have viſited the Eaſt Indies, and reſided a conſiderable time in them, there is no reaſon, ſuppoſe their notions contrary to mine, (which, however, is not the fact) to yield implicitly to them: they may have other motives for their opinions than thoſe which they think fit to diſcover. And if after all, there ſhould be ever ſo good reaſons advanced why the Eaſt India company ſhould not endeavour to acquire this trade; yet I cannot apprehend, that what I have offered ought to be at all affected thereby, ſince it is certain, that if the commodities and manufactures of this

country are exported, that exportation muſt turn to the general benefit of the nation. This was the ſentiment of the great De Witte, with reſpect to the Eaſt India Company in Holland. He made no difficulty in declaring, that how uſeful ſoever that company might be to the republic in its infancy, there might nevertheleſs come a time, when the intereſts of the company might claſh with thoſe of the ſtate; and if this might be the caſe in Holland, it may be ſo elſewhere.

It is very eaſy to conceive, that there may be good reaſons to induce even the greateſt companies to limit their commerce, becauſe this will put it in their power to manage it the better, and to render it more advantageous; but there never can be any reaſon aſſigned for reſtraining the commerce of any nation. The more of her commodities and manufactures a nation can ſend abroad, the more people ſhe muſt neceſſarily employ at home, and the more her ſhipping muſt increaſe; neither is there any fear that this ſhould exhauſt her people, for while her trade flouriſhes, it will never fail to invite ſtrangers: and therefore experience ſhews us, that though in poor countries the people are, generally ſpeaking, more prolific, yet it does not follow, that they are more populous, becauſe their wants drive them abroad, and that too under ſuch circumſtances as that they ſeldom return home.

But to ſum up all, the Dutch writers themſelves inform us, that of late years, among other reſtraints impoſed upon them by the Japaneſe, the very quantity of goods they are to ſend into the country is limited, and this to about the value of 100,000 *l.* of our money, notwithſtanding which the ſame writers own, that the profits on this trade amount one year with another to near four times that ſum. And thus, I think, I have effectually ſhewn that there is nothing wild, chimerical, or abſurd in propoſing to

recover

recover our trade to Japan, if it be poſſible; to which I beg leave to add, that while the price of wool is ſo low, the number of our poor ſo great, our taxes ſo many and ſo high, and the complaints of the lower ſort of people, for want of employment, ſo loud and general, a man muſt be of a very timorous diſpoſition, who can be afraid of cenſure, for endeavouring to point out the only way by which theſe evils can be effectually cured, and the wants and diſtreſſes of the multitude prevented from either driving them abroad, or rendering them mutinous or troubleſome at home *.

JAMAICA, products of

Sugar 48,515 hhds. at 15 l.	£. 727,825
Rum	433,591
Cotton	17,479
Coffee	2,342
Pimento	15,632
Mahogany	17,857
Sundries	32,142
Total †	£. 1,246,868

This iſland deſerves a more than common attention, becauſe while our politicians are haranguing on the want of ſugar land, and while ſuch actually ſells in ſome of our iſlands at from 20 l. to 100 l. an acre; there are ſome millions in Jamaica not applied to any uſe. It is ſituated between 17 and 18 degrees North latitude. It is 140 miles long and 60 broad.

The whole iſland has one continued ridge of hills running from Eaſt to Weſt through the middle of it, which are generally called the Blue Mountains: the tops of ſome are higher than others; other hills there are on each ſide this ridge of mountains, which

* Harris's Voyages, vol. i. p. 872.
† Political Eſſays, p. 286.

however, are much lower. The outward face of the earth ſeems to be different here from what it is in Europe, the valleys being very level, with little or no riſing grounds or ſmall hills, without rocks or ſtones; the mountainous part is very ſteep, and furrowed by very deep channels on the North and South ſides of the higheſt hills; theſe channels are made here by frequent and very violent rains, which every day almoſt fall on the mountains, and firſt wearing a ſmall trough or courſe for their paſſage, waſh away afterwards whatever comes in the way, and make their channels extraordinary ſteep. The greateſt part of the high land of this iſland is either ſtone or clay, which reſiſts the rains, and ſo is not carried down violently with them into the plains, as the mould proper for tillage, and friable earths are; hence it is that in theſe mountainous places, one ſhall have very little or none of ſuch earths, but either a very ſtrong tough clay, or a honey comb, or other rock, upon which no earth appears. All the high land is covered with woods, ſome of the trees very good timber, tall and ſtrait, and one would wonder how ſuch trees ſhould grow in ſuch a barren ſoil, ſo thick together among the rocks; but the trees ſend down their fibrous roots into the crannies of the rocks, where here and there they meet with little receptacles of rain water, which nouriſh their roots.

It is a very ſtrange thing to ſee in how ſhort a time a plantation, formerly cleared of trees and ſhrubs, will commonly grow foul, which ariſes from two cauſes; one, the not ſtubbing the roots, whence ariſes young ſprouts, and the other the fertility of the ſoil: the ſettlements and plantations not only of the Indians, but of the Spaniards, being quite overgrown with tall trees, ſo that there would be no footſteps left, were it not for old paliſadoes, building, orange walks, &c. which evidently ſhew

plantations

plantations have been there. There are the ſame layers of earth one over another in the fruitful part of the iſland, as are to be met with in Europe; and the ſame difference of ſoil appears as in England, in digging wells and other occaſions of opening the ground. Moſt of the ſavannas or plains fit for paſture and cleared of wood, are like our meadow land, lie near the South ſide of the iſland, where one may ride a great many miles without meeting with any aſcent; ſome of theſe plains are within land incircled with hills; theſe ſavannas after rain are very green and pleaſant, but after long droughts are very much withered, and look yellow and parched.

There are more cocoa walks in this iſland than in any of our others. It is the moſt profitable tree in the world, one acre of them having cleared above two hundred pounds in a year.

There is alſo more indigo produced in Jamaica than in any other colony, by reaſon of the great quantity of Savanna land, for it thrives beſt in ſandy ground. In land that proves proper for it, the labour of one hand in a year's time will produce between 80 and 100 weight, which may amount from 12 l. to 15 l. to the planter.

Pimento, wild cinnamon, cotton, tobacco, abundance of dyers woods, as fuſtic, red wood, logwood, and others, are among its products. The iſland abounds alſo in drugs and medicinal herbs, as guaiacum, china, ſarſaparilla, caſſia, tamarinds, verilloes, and many ſorts of miſſeltoe; as alſo in ſalutary gums and roots. The plant of which cochineal is made grows in Jamaica; and yet the inhabitants, for want of knowledge how to cure it, make no advantage of it; beſides the eaſt wind blaſts it ſo, that it ſeldom or ever comes to maturity.

It is not to be doubted but there are copper mines in the iſland, and the Spaniards ſay, the bells of the

church at St. Jago were made of Jamaica metal; 'tis ſuppoſed there are ſilver mines in it as well as at Cuba and on the continent; and there is a place in the mountains of Port Royal or Caguag, where it is reported the Spaniards dug ſilver, but the Engliſh have not been ſo happy as to find it *.

It appears, ſays another author, that Jamaica at preſent is rather upon the decline, a point this, that deſerves the moſt attentive conſideration. A country that contains at leaſt four millions of acres, has a fertile ſoil, an extenſive ſea coaſt, and many very fine harbours, for an iſland ſo circumſtanced, and at a time when the value of all its products at market is conſiderably riſen, for ſuch a country to fall ſhort of its former numbers, and not to have above three or four hundred thouſand acres employed in any ſort of culture, ſhews clearly that ſome thing muſt be very wrong in the management of its affairs, and what ſhews it even yet more clearly, land is ſo extravagantly dear in many of the other iſlands, as to ſell ſometimes for one hundred pounds an acre and upwards, a price that undoubtedly never would be paid, if convenient land was to be had, and proper encouragement given in Jamaica. Whether this is owing to public or private faults, I know not; but certain it is, that wherever they are, they deſerve a ſpeedy and effectual remedy, from thoſe in whoſe power it is to apply it †.

We have extracted no accounts of the ſugar plantations, as it is very well known, that Jamaica produces to a greater value of that (ſee the forgoing table) than of any thing elſe; but what we would principally inſiſt upon, is the ſmall quantity of land in culture in an iſland that yields cotton, indigo, cacao, &c. ſo plentifully. Out of four millions of

* Harris's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 270.

† Account of European Settlements, vol. 2. p. 69.

acres,

acres, it is moſt evident that there muſt be infinitely more than a tenth part that would yield ſome or other of thoſe commodities. Sugar it is allowed requires ſeveral circumſtances to unite in one ſpot, to form a plantation; for beſides the goodneſs of the ſoil, it muſt be near a navigation; but this is not the caſe with cotton or with indigo, or even ſeveral other products, which the neglected parts of Jamaica might be applied to. It is the higheſt degree of folly and prejudice, to allow ſo much land in the richeſt climate in the world to lie waſte, while we have ſo many people going to our colonies, indifferent where they ſettle, provided meaſures be taken to ſettle them ſomewhere. We are colonizing among the ſnows and froſts of Canada, St. John's, and Nova Scotia, in order to raiſe the ſame commodities that Britain and her fiſhermen produce; while, in this iſland, they might be employed in raiſing the moſt marketable and valuable ones that are to be found in America.

In order to remedy theſe evils, their extent and nature muſt be known. Let the iſland be ſurveyed and mapped upon a large ſcale; and the lands diſtinguiſhed into,

1. Thoſe in culture.

2. Thoſe already property; that is, granted to individuals but not cultivated.

3. Thoſe not granted away yet.

With an accurate examination into the nature and capability of ſuch tracts as are uncultivated, tho' property; that if it was found they were fit for culture, enquiry might be made into the terms on which they were granted; that all monopolizing land, not to cultivate, but to keep it waſte, might be effectually overturned. Such a ſurvey judiciouſly made, would inform us, what quantity of land is fit for ſugar, what for cotton, for cocoa, and for indigo, and meaſures might then be taken to encourage ſettlers to plant all

ſuch parts of the iſland. The general opinion is, that with proper management the product of Jamaica might be quadrupled; this is an object of ſtriking importance to the nation; but at all events, were ſuch a plan as this executed, we ſhould at leaſt know the truth, and underſtand what the improvements are, of which the iſland is really capable. Such knowledge of the evil would be half its cure; for at preſent no new ſettlers go thither, under the idea that there is nothing but rocks and mountains left for them; but this in all probability is a moſt egregious miſtake: if we allow a third of the whole iſland to be incapable of cultivation, there then remains 2,900,000 acres, of which not 400,000 are applied to any culture. What an ample field, therefore, is here for improvement and colonization, inſtead of the eternal ſnows of the North, where the ſettlers can only rival us, as New England has done, in our fiſhery!

IMPORTATION, in commerce, is what, in ſome inſtances, impoveriſhes a nation. If the balance of imports and exports be on the former ſide, and the country has no way of making up the drain, ſhe muſt preſently find herſelf ſo poor, that the importation will ſtop of itſelf, and ſuch ſtoppage will occaſion more induſtry to ſpring up among the people, to gain products or manufactures, to exchange, inſtead of buy. When individuals are left to themſelves, they pay little attention to the intereſt of the ſtate, but are equally ready to buy foreign products and manufactures, as thoſe of their own country, and often greatly prefer them; ſuch a conduct would at preſent have ill effects: therefore to prevent it, all enlightened governments have laid on cuſtom and exciſe duties, to render one commodity cheaper than another; to prevent or burthen the importation of foreign products and manufactures, and to favour the conſumption and exportation of their own.

But

But in the execution of ſuch ideas, it has wiſely been aimed only at preventing an unfavourable balance, and the importation of ſuch manufactures as are wrought at home; becauſe it would be in vain to think of cutting off all importations. The wiſe Creator of all things deſigned that nations and countries ſhould be more dependent on one another, that a ſocial intercourſe might be the effect. The importations of England amount to above ten millions ſterling, but they include ſugar, tea, coffee, ſpices, wines, materials for manufactures, naval ſtores, tobacco, &c. &c. with ſome, but not many foreign manufactures. It is evident that it would be abſurd to think of cutting off ſuch articles, which our climate denies, or which our manufactures demand. The balance is four millions in our favour, which is the great object.

Holland certainly poſſeſſes a very great balance of trade in her favour. France, beyond a doubt, enjoys the ſame. Sweden, Norway, and Ruſſia, (particularly the latter) have the ſame. The ſame rule holds with a great part of Germany, and moſt of Italy. Spain, Portugal, the Turks, and the other quarters of the world, therefore pay the balance to theſe induſtrious nations.

INDUSTRY, the great foundation of wealth and happineſs in a modern nation: if we take a view of all the nations at preſent in the world, we ſhall find wealth, eaſe, power, fame, and many other circumſtances, pretty nearly proportioned to their induſtry. The idle nations are univerſally poor, and comparatively weak; the poſſeſſion of the richeſt mines in the world will not make them otherwiſe. If we look round ourſelves at home, we ſhall find that the induſtrious maintain and ſupport themſelves: the idle are a burthen upon others; which is alone reaſon enough for making induſtry as univerſal as poſſible: all our agriculture, arts, manufactures,

tures, commerce, ſhipping, buildings, public works, &c. are the effects of induſtry, and flouriſh proportionably to it.

To a nation that is but juſt emerging from idleneſs, the effects of induſtry are ſtrikingly advantageous. "In one part (ſays a modern author) I ſee a decent and comely beginning of induſtry; wealth flowing gently in, to recompence ingenuity; numbers augmenting, and every one becoming daily more uſeful to another; agriculture proportionally extending itſelf; no violent revolutions; no exorbitant profits; no inſolence among the rich; no exceſſive miſery among the poor; multitudes employed in producing; great œconomy upon conſumption, and all the inſtruments of luxury, daily produced by the hands of the diligent, going out of the country for the ſervice of ſtrangers; not remaining at home for the gratification of ſenſuality. At laſt the augmentations come inſenſibly to a ſtop. Then theſe rivers of wealth, which were in briſk circulation through the whole world, and which returned to this trading nation as blood returns to the heart, only to be thrown out again by new pulſations, begin to be obſtructed in their courſe; and flowing abroad more ſlowly than before, come to form ſtagnations at home. Theſe, impatient of reſtraint, ſoon burſt out into domeſtic circulation: upon this, cities ſwell in magnificence of buildings; the face of the country is adorned with palaces, and becomes covered with groves; luxury ſhines triumphant in every part; inequality becomes more ſtriking to the eye; and want and miſery appear more deformed from the contraſt; even fortune grows more whimſical in her inconſtancy; the beggar of the other day now rides in his coach; and he who was born in a bed of ſtate, is ſeen to die in a gaol or in an alms-houſe. Such are the effects of great domeſtic circulation!

The

The ſtateſman looks about with amazement. He who was wont to conſider himſelf as the firſt man in the ſociety, in every reſpect perceives himſelf perhaps eclipſed by the luſtre of private wealth, which avoids his graſp when he attempts to ſeize it. This makes his government more complex, and more difficult to be carried on; he muſt now avail himſelf of art and addreſs, as well as of power and force. By the help of cajoling and intrigues, he gets a little into debt; this lays a foundation for public credit, which growing by degrees, and in its progreſs aſſuming many new forms, becomes from the moſt tender beginnings, a moſt formidable monſter, ſtriking terror into thoſe who cheriſhed it in its infancy. Upon this, as upon a triumphant warhorſe, the ſtateſman gets aſtride; he then appears formidable anew, his head turns giddy; he is choaked with the duſt he has raiſed; and at the moment he is ready to fall, to his utter aſtoniſhment and ſurprize, he finds a ſtrong moneyed intereſt of his own creating, which inſtead of ſwallowing him up as he apprehended, flies to his ſupport. Through this he gets the better of all oppoſition; he eſtabliſhes taxes, multiplies them; mortgages his fund of ſubſiſtence; either becomes a bankrupt, and riſes again from his aſhes, or if he be leſs audacious, he ſtands trembling and tottering for awhile on the brink of the political precipice. From one or the other of theſe perilous ſituations, he begins to diſcover an endleſs path; which, after a multitude of windings, ſtill returns into itſelf, and continues an equal courſe through this vaſt labyrinth *.

INDOSTAN, the empire of the Great Mogul. The revenues of it, while in its flouriſhing ſtate before the invaſion of Nadir Shar, in the reign of the emperor Aurengzebe, who died in 1707, were as follow:

* Political Oeconomy, Vol. I. p. 208.

Provinces				Pounds sterl.		
Dehly				3,818,594	3	6
Agra				3,583,625	10	0
Azmeer				2,038,579	5	0
Illahabad				1,426,697	13	0
Audih				1,007,274	10	0
Paujal				2,581,661	16	8
Multan				670,134	3	6
Cabool				503,248	0	0
Caſhmeer				718,473	2	4
Guzerát				1,899,529	3	6
Bengal	1,639,488	5	0			
Bahár	1,272,378	2	6			
Oriſſa	446,312	10	0			
				3,358,178	19	6
Scind				286,927	10	0
Dowlatabad				3,234,203	9	0
Malva				1,261,192	13	6
Bera				1,918,828	2	6
Khandeiſh				1,401,969	0	0
Bedr				1,165,545	0	0
Hyderabad				3,479,250	0	0
Vizapore				3,369,703	2	6
Total				£. 37,724,615	2	6

Every perſon well acquainted with Indoſtan will allow, if the above ſum found its way into the king's treaſury at Dehly*, that it may, with great moderation be admitted, twice that ſum at leaſt was collected from the tenants, or huſbandmen.

Wealth in other countries is uſually conſidered as the foundation of power; but in Indoſtan it has proved otherwiſe: it has there rather been the ſource of weakneſs. The very idea of deſpotiſm with riches is apt to occaſion indolence: and with great delegated power ſervants ſoon grow to be maſters of

* Frazer's Hiſt. of Mog. Emp. p. 35.

thoſe

thoſe whom they appear to obey; of which the hiſtory of Indoſtan abounds with ſtriking examples. But that the Mogul empire, in the days of its ſplendor, was one of the moſt extenſive and rich that the world has ever known, was always believed, and of late has been made evident by many writers from indiſputable authorities.

The revenues of Bengal, and its dependencies, ariſe from the rents paid for lands, either according to their meaſurement, or according to the produce of them, at certain eſtabliſhed rates; which vary in different parts even of the ſame province, according to its different degrees of fertility. While the empire remained unſhaken, the general eſtabliſhed rate of eſtimation at Dehly, for cultivated ground in Bengal, was three ficca rupees, or ſeven ſhillings and ſix-pence per bega of 16,003 ſquare feet, one with another, or about twenty ſhillings per acre. But this was not the rate of collecting the rents in thoſe provinces, where few lands paid according to the meaſurement, at ſo much per bega; but generally a proportion of the crop eſtimated on the ground, and valued at the then market-price of ſuch produce. Thus ground producing rice, peaſe, wheat, barley, and other grain, generally pays one half of the crop, in which mode ſome products make the bega very valuable: as the lands in Bengal, from the extraordinary fertility of the ſoil in moſt places, produce two, and in ſome, even three crops of grain in the year. Opium and ſugar-cane, which yield only one crop in the year, and are only produced in particular diſtricts, yield to the landholder at the rate of from ſeven to as high as fifteen rupees per bega: but the moſt valuable product of all is the ſhrub, which bears the leaf called by the natives paan, and by the Engliſh beetle-leaf; which, notwithſtanding the vegetative advantages of the ſoil and climate, requires ſome nicety

nicety in cultivation, and pays the landholder as high as thirty-two rupees per bega.

When the ſovereignty of the Bengal provinces, of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, was taken by the company upon themſelves in 1765, Mr. Sykes was appointed receiver-general of the revenues, &c. and their amount was by him adjuſted and eſtimated at 3,630,676 l. 18 s. 5 d. Mr. Sykes ſubſcribed to that, and declared it to be his opinion that the whole would be collected in the year 1766, without oppreſſing the inhabitants. Lord Clive likewiſe gave his opinion upon this ſtatement of the Bengal revenues, in his letter to the court of directors, dated Calcutta, the 30th of September, 1765, in the following words.

"Your revenues, by means of this new acquiſition, will, as near as I can judge, not fall ſhort for the enſuing year, of 250 lacks of ſicca rupees, including your former poſſeſſions of Burdwan, &c. Hereafter they will at leaſt amount to 20 or 30 lacks more. Your civil and military expences in time of peace can never exceed 60 lacks of rupees. The nabob's allowances are already reduced to 42 lacks, and the tribute to the king is fixed at 26. So that there will be remaining a clear gain to the company of 122 lacks of ſicca rupees, or 1,650,900 l. ſterling; which will defray all the expences of the inveſtments, furniſh the whole of the China treaſure, anſwer the demands of all your other ſettlements in India, and leave a conſiderable balance in your treaſury beſides. In time of war, when the country may be ſubject to the incurſions of bodies of cavalry, we ſhall notwithſtanding be able to collect a ſufficient ſum for our civil and military exigencies, and likewiſe for our inveſtments; becauſe a very rich part of the Bengal and Bahar dominions are ſituated to the eaſtward of the Ganges, where we can never be invaded. What I have given you is a real, not an imaginary ſtate of

of your revenues, and you may be assured they will not fall short of my computation."

This author speaks of a banker in Bengal, that died worth near nine millions sterling, which is a proof, if any thing can be one, of the immense wealth and circulation of the country *.

Mr. Holwell, another well-informed writer, has calculated the revenue of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, as he calls it, at 14,000,000 l. sterling.

It is, however, sufficiently evident, that our India company has conquered a country that yields an immense revenue. It is well known they have done this by taking proper advantage of the weakness of the Mogul government: that empire has no regular succession; various parties, and our company among the rest, have by turns made and unmade Moguls.

In such a situation there are two circumstances, which particularly deserve attention.

First, the uncertainty of a possession of a revenue, when it depends on maintaining a force greater than can be collected by the superior government of the country.

If a mogul of abilities was once firmly seated in the throne, we may depend on it that he would not long see three of the richest provinces of his empire torn from him by a foreign company of merchants: hence therefore our company (besides the other wars with the nabobs they set up) may reasonably look for at best a disputed possession; and may probably by and by meet with rivals much more powerful than themselves.

Secondly, there is another evil, which I should be more afraid of than open force; it is the gain of wealth, without the exertion of industry. Traders,

* Considerations on India affairs, 1772, p. 16, 148, 154, 158.

or

or a company of traders, will not prove the better merchants for diſcovering a gold mine: on the contrary, the natural conſequence is, to render trade an inferior object in their eyes. This muſt inevitably ſlacken, if not deſtroy, their induſtry; and as their poſſeſſions are kept by force, muſt raiſe a ſpirit of reſiſtance, hatred, and revolt, in all the natives, which in the end may be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences.

While the attention of our company is taken up with the management of territorial revenues, with ſetting and pulling down nabobs and moguls, with collecting taxes, and oppreſſing the people; while ſuch are their employments, it would be abſurd to expect them to exert themſelves with any ſpirit or induſtry in commerce, opening new branches of trade, or proſecuting the old ones as hitherto. For theſe reaſons we may determine, that all the high accounts we have received of the immenſe acquiſitions made, may turn out more apparent than real, from the evils they muſt neceſſarily entail.

The affairs of Indoſtan, we readily allow, give us an opportunity which ought on no account to be miſſed. If a revenue of above three millions per annum is to be made there, let it by all means be made; but we would have it in the hands of the government, inſtead of a trading company: one or two millions clear per ann. into the national treaſury, would prove a noble fund for the diſcharge of our national debt; or do great things in caſe of the peace-eſtabliſhment. Were theſe conqueſts on this footing, government could well afford to keep a much more conſiderable army on foot than the company ſupports: a ſufficient one not only for ſecuring, but even extending theſe conqueſts. In this caſe, the nation would reap all the advantage that could be made by them, and our company left, as they ought to be, to mind their trading.

INTEREST

INTEREST. Nothing is eſtemed a more certain ſign of the flouriſhing condition of any nation than the lowneſs of intereſt, and with reaſon, though I believe the cauſe is ſomewhat different from what is commonly apprehended. The lowneſs of intereſt is generally aſcribed to the plenty of money, but money, however plentiful, has no other effect, if fixed, than to raiſe the price of labour. Silver is more common than gold; and therefore you receive a greater quantity of it for the ſame commodities. But do you pay leſs intereſt for it? Intereſt in Batavia and Jamaica is at 10 per cent, in Portugal at 6; though theſe places, as we may learn from the prices of every thing, abound much more in gold and ſilver than London or Amſterdam.

Were all the gold in England annihilated at once, and one and twenty ſhillings ſubſtituted in the place of every guinea, would money be more plentiful or intereſt lower? No, ſurely. We ſhould only uſe ſilver in the ſtead of gold.

An effect always holds proportion with its cauſe. Prices have riſen above four times ſince the diſcovery of the Indies; and 'tis probable gold and ſilver have multiplied much more, but intereſt has not fallen above half. The rate of intereſt therefore is not derived from the quantity of the precious metals.

High intereſt ariſes from three circumſtances: a great demand for borrowing little riches to ſupply that demand; and great profits from commerce. And theſe circumſtances are a clear proof of the ſmall advance of commerce and induſtry, not of the ſcarcity of gold and ſilver. Low intereſt, on the other hand, proceeds from the three oppoſite circumſtances; a ſmall demand for borrowing; great riches to ſupply that demand; and ſmall profits ariſing from commerce. And theſe circumſtances are all connected together, and proceed from the increaſe of induſtry and commerce, not of gold and ſilver.

When a people have emerged ever ſo little from a ſavage ſtate, and their numbers have increaſed beyond the original multitude, there muſt immediately ariſe an inequality of property; and while ſome poſſeſs large tracts of land, others are confined within narrow limits, and ſome are entirely without any landed property. Thoſe who poſſeſs more land than they can labour, employ thoſe who poſſeſs none, and agree to receive a determinate part of the product. Thus the landed intereſt is immediately eſtabliſhed; nor is there any ſettled government, however rude, in which affairs are not on this footing. Of theſe proprietors of land, ſome muſt preſently diſcover themſelves to be of different tempers from others; and while one would willingly ſtore up the product of his land for futurity, another deſires to conſume at preſent what would ſuffice for many years. But as the ſpending a ſettled revenue in a way of life entirely without occupation; men have ſo much need of ſomewhat to fix and engage them, that pleaſures, ſuch as they are, will be the purſuit of the greateſt part of the landholders, and the prodigals amongſt them will always be more numerous than the miſers. In a ſtate therefore where there is nothing but a landed intereſt, as there is little frugality, the borrowers muſt be very numerous, and the rate of intereſt muſt hold proportion to it. The difference depends not on the quantity of money, but on the habits and manners which prevail. By this alone the demand for borrowing is increaſed or diminiſhed. Were money ſo plentiful as to make an egg be ſold for ſixpence, ſo long as there are only landed gentry and peaſants in the ſtate, the borrowers muſt be numerous, and intereſt high. The rent for the ſame farm would be heavier and more bulky; but the ſame idleneſs of the landlord, with the higher prices of commodities, would diſſipate it in the ſame time, and

and produce the ſame neceſſity and demand for borrowing.

Nor is the caſe different with regard to the ſecond circumſtance which we propoſed to conſider; viz. the great or little riches to ſupply this demand. This effect alſo depends on the habits and ways of living of the people, not on the quantity of gold and ſilver. In order to have in any ſtate, a great number of lenders, 'tis not ſufficient nor requiſite, that there be great abundance of precious metals. 'Tis only requiſite that the property or command of that quantity which is in the ſtate, whether great or ſmall, ſhould be collected in particular hands, ſo as to form conſiderable ſums, or compoſe a great monied intereſt; this begets a number of lenders, and ſinks the rate of uſury, and this I ſhall venture to affirm depends not on the quantity of ſpecie, but on particular manners and cuſtoms, which make the ſpecie gather into ſeparate ſums or maſſes of conſiderable value.

For ſuppoſe that by miracle every man in Britain ſhould have five pounds ſlipped into his pocket in one night; this would much more than double the whole money that is at preſent in the kingdom; and yet there would not next day, nor for ſome time, be any more lenders, nor any variation in the intereſt; and were there nothing but landlords and peaſants in the ſtate, this money, however abundant, could never gather into ſums; and would only ſerve to increaſe the prices of every thing, without any further conſequence. The prodigal landlord diſſipates it as faſt as he receives it; and the beggarly peaſant has no means, nor view, nor ambition, of obtaining above a bare livelihood. The overplus of borrowers above that of lenders continuing ſtill the ſame, there will follow no reduction of intereſt: that depends upon another principle; and muſt proceed

ceed from an increaſe of induſtry and frugality, of arts and commerce.

Commerce increaſes induſtry by conveying it readily from one member of the ſtate to another, and allowing none of it to periſh or become uſeleſs. It encreaſes frugality by giving occupation to men, and employing them in the arts of gain, which ſoon engage their affection and remove all reliſh for pleaſure and expence. It is an infallible conſequence of all induſtrious profeſſions to beget frugality, and make the love of gain prevail over the love of pleaſure. Among lawyers and phyſicians who have any practice, there are many more who live within their income, than who exceed it, or even live up to it. But lawyers and phyſicians beget no induſtry; and it is even at the expence of others they acquire their riches; ſo that they are ſure to diminiſh the poſſeſſions of ſome of their fellow citizens, as faſt as increaſe their own. Merchants, on the contrary, beget induſtry, by ſerving as canals to convey it through every corner of the ſtate; and at the ſame time by their frugality, they acquire great power over that induſtry, and collect a large property in the labour and commodities which they are the chief inſtruments in producing. There is no other profeſſion, therefore, except merchandize, which can make the monied intereſt conſiderable, or, in other words, can increaſe induſtry, and by alſo increaſing frugality, give a great command of that induſtry to particular members of the ſociety. Without commerce, the ſtate muſt conſiſt chiefly of landed gentry, whoſe prodigality and expence make a continual demand for borrowing; and of peaſants who have no ſums to ſupply that demand. The money never gathers into large ſtocks or ſums which can be lent at intereſt. It is diſperſed into numberleſs hands, who either ſquander it in idle ſhew and magnificence, or employ it in the purchaſe of the common neceſſaries of life.

life. Commerce alone aſſembles it into conſiderable ſums, and this effect it has merely from the induſtry which it begets, and the frugality which it inſpires, independent of that particular quantity of precious metal which may circulate in the ſtate.

Thus an increaſe of commerce by a neceſſary conſequence, raiſes a great number of lenders, and by that means produces a lowneſs of intereſt.

We muſt now conſider how far this increaſe of commerce diminiſhes the profits ariſing from that profeſſion, and gives riſe to the third circumſtance requiſite to produce a lowneſs of intereſt.

Thoſe who have aſſerted that the plenty of money was the cauſe of the low intereſt, ſeem to have taken a collateral effect for a cauſe; ſince the ſame induſtry which ſinks the intereſt, does commonly acquire great abundance of the precious metals. A variety of fine manufactures, with vigilant enterprizing merchants, will ſoon draw money to a ſtate, if it be any where to be found in the world. The ſame cauſe, by multiplying the conveniencies of life, and increaſing induſtry, collects great riches into the hands of perſons who are not proprietors of land, and produces by that means a lowneſs of intereſt. But though both theſe effects, plenty of money and low intereſt, naturally ariſe from commerce and induſtry, they are altogether independent of each other. For ſuppoſe a nation removed into the Pacific Ocean, without any foreign commerce, or any knowledge of navigation: ſuppoſe that this nation poſſeſſes always the ſame ſtock of coin, but is continually increaſing in its numbers and induſtry; it is evident, that the price of every commodity muſt gradually diminiſh in that kingdom, ſince it is the proportion between money and any ſpecies of goods, which fixes their mutual value; and upon the preſent ſuppoſition, the conveniencies of life become every day more abundant, without any alteration on the current ſpecie.

It is true when commerce is extended all over the globe, the moſt induſtrious nations always abound moſt with the precious metals: ſo that low intereſt, and plenty of money, are in fact almoſt inſeparable. But ſtill it is of conſequence to know the principle whence this phænomenon ariſes, and to diſtinguiſh betwixt a cauſe and a concomitant effect. Beſides that the ſpeculation is curious, it may frequently be of uſe in the conduct of public affairs: at leaſt it muſt be owned, that nothing can be of more uſe than to improve by practice the method of reaſoning on theſe ſubjects, which of all others are the moſt important; though they are commonly treated in the looſeſt and moſt careleſs manner.

Another reaſon of this popular miſtake, with regard to the cauſe of low intereſt, ſeems to be the inſtance of ſome nations; where, after a ſudden acquiſition of money, or of the precious metals, by means of foreign conqueſt, the intereſt has fallen, not only among them, but in all the neighbouring ſtates, as ſoon as that money was diſperſed, and had inſinuated itſelf into every corner. Thus intereſt in Spain fell near half immediately after the diſcovery of the Weſt Indies, as we are informed by Garcilaſſo de la Vega: and it has been ever ſince gradually ſinking in every kingdom of Europe. Intereſt in Rome, after the conqueſt of Egypt, fell from 6 to 4 per cent, as we learn from Dion.

The cauſes of the ſinking of intereſt upon ſuch an event, ſeem different in the conquering country, and in the neighbouring ſtates; but in neither of them can we juſtly aſcribe that effect merely to the increaſe of gold and ſilver. In the conquering country, it is natural to imagine, that this new acquiſition of money will fall into a few hands, and be gathered into large ſums, which ſeek a ſecure revenue, either by the purchaſe of land, or by intereſt; and conſequently the ſame effect follows for a little time,

as

as if there had been a great acceſſion of induſtry and commerce. The increaſe of lenders above the borrowers ſinks the intereſt; and ſo much the faſter, if thoſe who have acquired thoſe large ſums, find no induſtry or commerce in the ſtate, and no method of employing their money, but by lending it at intereſt. But after this new maſs of gold and ſilver has been digeſted, and has circulated through the whole ſtate, affairs will ſoon return to their former ſituation: while the landlords and new money-holders living idly, ſquander above their income; and the former daily contract debts, and the latter incroach on their ſtock, till its final extinction. The whole money may ſtill be in the ſtate, and make itſelf felt by the increaſe of prices: but not being now collected into large maſſes or ſtocks, the diſproportion between the borrowers and lenders is the ſame as formerly, and conſequently the high intereſt returns.

Accordingly we find in Rome, that ſo early as Tiberius's time, intereſt had again mounted to 6 per cent. though no accident had happened to drain the empire of money. As to the reduction of intereſt, which has followed in England, France, and other kingdoms of Europe that have no mines, it has been gradual; and has not proceeded from the increaſe of money, conſidered merely in itſelf, but from the increaſe of induſtry; which is the natural effect of the former increaſe in that interval, before it raiſes the price of labour and proviſions. For to return to the foregoing ſuppoſition: if the induſtry of England had riſen as much from other cauſes, (and that riſe might eaſily have happened, though the ſtock of money had remained the ſame) muſt not all the ſame conſequences have followed, which we obſerve at preſent? The ſame people would in that caſe be found in the kingdom, the ſame commodities, the ſame induſtry, manufactures, and

commerce; and conſequently the ſame merchants, with the ſame ſtocks: that is, with the ſame command over labour and commodities, only repreſented by a ſmaller number of white or yellow pieces; which being a circumſtance of no moment, would only affect the waggoner, porter, and trunk-maker. Luxury, therefore, manufactures, arts, induſtry, frugality flouriſhing equally as at preſent, it is evident that intereſt muſt alſo have been as low; ſince that is the neceſſary reſult of all theſe circumſtances, ſo far as they determine the profits of commerce, and the proportion between the borrowers and lenders in any ſtate *.

IRELAND. Sir William Petty computes that at the time when the landlords rent of the whole kingdom was but 432,000 l. per ann. there was remitted yearly, for the ſupport of outliers in England, 200,000 l. ſterl. And this article alone was lately, and, I believe, very juſtly eſtimated, at 600,000 l. per annum †.

Iriſh trade with France in 1725.

	£.
Exports	214,422
Imports	141,650
Ballance	£. 72,772

Sir William Petty in 1676, computes that the whole territory of Ireland, conſiſting of 9,000,000 of acres, good arable paſture and meadow, and 1,500,000 acres of loughs, bogs, ſhrubs, woods, &c. Iriſh plantation-meaſure and Strafford's ſurvey, affording an annual rent (including his Majeſty's quit

* Hume's Eſſays, Vol. I. p. 327.

† Collection of Tracts, concerning the preſent State of Ireland, 1729, p. 25.

rents,

rents, the tythes, and tenants improvements) of 900,000 l. and was worth to be purchaſed at the higheſt ſelling prices of thoſe times, 9 millions; at preſent (conſidering the great improvements of lands, and the very favourable ſurvey in general) the 9,000,000 acres of good arable paſture and meadow may be worth, at a medium of 4 s. 6 d. per acre, or 2,05,000 l. per annum, and his majeſty's quit-rents, the tythes, and tenants improvements, at a modeſt computation, 799,870 l. per ann. So that, without making any allowance for 1,500,000 acres of bogs, woods, &c. the rents, public and private, ariſing from the reſt is 2,824,870 l. per ann. and that at twenty years purchaſe (the loweſt ſelling price of this time, 1729) is worth 56,497,400 l. or 47,497,400 l. more than in 1676, when that gentleman made his calculation: but if we add to this the great increaſe of our perſonal eſtate, and the number of hands which is daily added to our induſtry; and if we at the ſame time conſider, that whilſt we have been accumulating that treaſure, we had all along laboured under a dead drain, for the ſupport of our outliers, which alone has lately been eſtimated at 600,000 l. per annum, and which in the whole cannot be under 23,000,000 l. ſterl. we ſhall find that, ſtinted in trade, and waſted by outliers as we are, there is ſtill ſomewhat left highly deſerving of our care and circumſpection.

Ireland is in reſpect to its ſituation, the number of commodious harbours, and the natural wealth which it produces, the fitteſt iſland to acquire riches of any in the European ſeas: for as by its ſituation it lies the moſt commodious for the Weſt Indies, Spain, and the Northern or Eaſt Countries, ſo it is not only ſupplied by nature with all the neceſſaries of life, but can over and above export large quantities of its growth and manufacture to foreign markets; inſomuch that had it been miſtreſs of a free trade, no

nation

nation in Europe of its extent could, in an equal number of years, acquire a greater wealth.

Abſtract of the exportations and importations of Ireland for the year, ending the 25th *of March*, 1725, *eſtimated at a medium of the ſelling price in our markets for that year.*

	Exports.	Imports.
South Britain, Wales, Guernſey, & Jerſey	476,632	441,799
North Britain and the Iſle of Man	21,250	31,003
Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Hamburgh	42,049	74,500
Holland and Flanders	52,618	70,048
France	214,422	141,650
Spain & the Canaries, Portugal, Genoa, & Leghorn	149,984	60,959
Plantations	96,825	000,000
	£. 1,053,782	819,761

Sir William Petty ſays the caſh of Ireland was 400,000 *l.* and the people 1,100,000. At this time our caſh is at moſt 600,000 *l.* and our people 1,500,000 *.

ISLANDS. The inhabitants of iſlands have a higher reliſh for liberty than thoſe of the continent. Iſlands are commonly of a ſmall extent; one part of the people cannot be ſo eaſily employed to oppreſs the other; the ſea ſeparates them from great empires; tyranny cannot ſo well ſupport itſelf within a ſmall compaſs; conquerors are ſtopped by the

* Collection of Tracts concerning the preſent State of Ireland, 1729, p. 66, 105, 121.

ſea;

ſea; and the iſlanders being without the reach of their arms, more eaſily preſerve their own laws †.

ISLES (the) thoſe of France and Bourbon, thus called in old France. They lie in South latitude 20 and 21 degrees. The iſle of Bourbon is about fifty-ſeven leagues in circumference, that of France fifty. The climate of them is pretty warm, but very wholeſome, eſpecially Bourbon, and the air ſerene; people live there to a vaſt age, without feeling either infirmities or diſeaſes. The ſoil is extremely fruitful; producing Turkey corn and rice twice a year, oranges, citrons, pine apples, ebony, cotton, white peper, gum benjamin, aloes, and tobacco; beſides ſome plantations of ſugar; and ſeveral years ago, the company annually brought from Bourbon, coffee to the amount of one hundred thouſand pounds.

But as fine ſpots as theſe iſlands are, the India company conſidered them as a dead weight, until in 1734. M. de la Bourdenaye was ſent over as governor of the Iſles.

Upon his arrival in the Iſle of France, he found it in as miſerable a condition as ever colony was: very thin of people, and thoſe ignorant, lazy, and ſeditious, as if they had not been, as they really were, naked, defenceleſs and ſtarving. This gentleman went to work with all the vigour and public ſpirit imaginable, and at the expence of making every man under his command his ſecret enemy; though they all profeſſed that he was the wiſeſt, gentleſt, and beſt of governors: he ſoon put all things to rights, and brought the greateſt part of them to believe, that he was really, what, out of ſervile flattery, they called him.

He ſent for young negroes over from Madagaſcar, bred them up in honeſt and religious principles, and

† Spirit of Laws, Vol. i. p. 404.

then

then made uſe of them againſt ſome outlaws and banditti that were in the iſland, whom he obliged either to ſubmit or quit it. He found in the iſland ſcarce a planter, manufacturer, or ſoldier; he made every able man that reſided there all of theſe, by ſhewing him that it was his intereſt, and placing the eſſence of his own power in his example.

When he came, there was nothing but cabins; in the ſpace of a few years, beſides private habitations, he erected magazines, arſenals, barracks, fortifications, mills, quays, canals, and aqueducts, particularly one that carried freſh water down to the port, and to the hoſpitals, three thouſand ſix hundred toiſes in length, which effectually removed the moſt troubleſome circumſtance, that hitherto had impeded their thriving. They had never been ſkilful enough to clear or repair the ſmalleſt veſſel for their own ſervice, but were forced to lay them up when foul or decayed, till ſome ſhip came in, when they could hire the carpenters to do what they wanted. They had not either roads, carriages, or ſawing mills; the governor enabled them to get the better of theſe wants, and in eighteen or twenty months, brought down a large quantity of ſerviceable timber to the port; where he provided yards, wet and dry docks, pontons, canvas, ſhallops, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for carreening, which he performed as effectually as in Europe. In 1737, he launched a brigantine; in 1738, he built two good ſhips; and towards the cloſe of the year, put one on the ſtocks of the burthen of 500 tons. In a word, in four years time the port of the Iſle of France was as fit for building and careening as Port l'Orient, the buſineſs as effectually done, and with more expedition.

All theſe ſervices could never have been brought about, if he had not attended, at the ſame time, to the perſonal intereſt and private advantages of every planter

planter in the iſland. A few inſtances will ſuffice to ſet this important affair in a clear light. In the firſt place he prevented their ever being diſtreſſed for food, that is, for bread, which had often happened before, and was the principle cauſe of their poverty. He did this by obliging them to plant five hundred feet ſquare of manioc (a root of which incomparable bread is made) for every black man, and their families. At firſt they were very averſe, and ſome were ſo wicked as to deſtroy theſe plantations, after they were made; but by degrees, becoming more accuſtomed to this diet, they acquired ſagacity enough to perceive, that brown bread was better than none. He next prevented their ſlaughtering cattle at random, obliged the crews of the company's ſhips to be ſatisfied during their ſtay with fiſh and turtle, when it was abſolutely requiſite; and by this temporary ſhort allowance, ſecured to them perpetual plenty. He put them upon raiſing commodities, and manufactures, of which they never thought; and amongſt the reſt, he ſet on foot ſugar works for the profit of the company, which brought in when he left the iſland 60,000 livres a year. As to himſelf his diſintereſtedneſs equalled his abilities; for he never poſſeſſed a foot of land, nor traded for a ſingle livre.

All theſe ſtrange things were performed between 1735 and 1740, and certainly contain the moſt ſtriking inſtance of the vaſt power of induſtry and perſeverance, that is to be met with in the annals of hiſtory; ſo very remarkable is it, and ſo fine a leſſon does it contain, for future ſetlers in any part of the world *.

ITALY. This great and fruitful country has been as high as hiſtory records either the ſeat of empire, or the theatre of war. From the frontiers of

* Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. xi. p. 170.

Swit-

Switzerland to the extremity of the kingdom of Naples, it is about 750 miles in length; and from the frontiers of the dutchy of Savoy to thoſe of the dominions of the ſtate of Venice, which is its greateſt breadth, about 400, though in ſome parts it is ſcarce a fourth part ſo broad. The ſoil and climate in different parts are as oppoſite as can well be imagined. In Switzerland and the country of the Griſons, the mountains are as high as in any part of Europe, the earth barren, and the air bleak and ſharp; the plains of Lombardy again are juſtly ſtiled the garden of Europe, as well on account of their fertility as the ſerenity and pleaſantneſs of the climate; in the dominions of the church and in the kingdom of Naples, the heat in ſummer is exceſſive, to which however they are indebted for the richeſt fruits and the moſt odoriferous flowers, as well as oil, wine, ſilk, and other valuable commodities.

With regard to troops, though the militia for many of the principalities are very different, and the regular forces much fitter for ſhew than for uſe: yet this ought to be reputed to the effects of luxury and bad government; for in former times, as the moſt authentic hiſtories ſhew, theſe countries bred as good ſoldiers as any in Europe. In the next place, let it be obſerved that there is hardly any foreign ſervice in which Italian officers have not diſtinguiſhed themſelves; and if we look into the records of the two laſt centuries, we ſhall find the names of Italian heroes, who, in point of courage and conduct, were little inferior to thoſe of antiquity.

All the ſtrength of Italy collected is, rather under than over, computed at 140,000 men, which in their own country and for their own defence, thoſe princes and powers that raiſe them might very well maintain, ſince if it were not for a vain affectation of ſhew and magnificence, and a ſtill vainer propenſity to coſtly ſuperſtition, the ſubjects of the Italian poten-

potentates would be very far from wanting where-with to defray ſuch an armament for the general ſecurity.

The influence of the two great houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon have, in our days, chiefly contributed to keep the ſcale of the balance of power in almoſt conſtant motion, and whenever there has been any little receſs, it has laſted no longer than till the ſilent intrigues of the partizans of one or other of theſe houſes, have been able to pave the way for new diſputes. Sometimes it has been thought for the intereſt of Italy, to rid themſelves entirely of one houſe by the aſſiſtance of the other; and when this has been in a good meaſure effected, at the expence of much bloodſhed and confuſion, experience has ſhewn them their miſtake; in conſequence of which they have entered into a new war to ſet things right again. Other nations more at a diſtance, find themſelves ſtrongly intereſted in the preſervation of the balance, from a variety of motives, but principally from theſe two; firſt becauſe their trade in the Mediterranean muſt ſuffer exceedingly, if the balance in Italy be deſtroyed; and ſecondly, this balance is attended to, becauſe a diverſion on the ſide of Italy proves often a thing of the laſt conſequence in the caſe of a general war; the very apprehenſion of which keeps a very conſiderable part of the forces of each of the contending houſes from being employed, where they might be of moſt prejudice to thoſe powers, who for this reaſon make the balance of Italy ſo much their concern.

The territories of the king of Sardinia are very far from being extenſive; but it muſt be allowed, that they are very populous, and the people of Savoy and of the vallies are naturally martial; ſo that under theſe two laſt reigns, a very conſiderable army of regular troops has been conſtantly kept up, and the king can never be at a loſs to bring forty or fifty thouſand

thouſand men into the field, when occaſion requires it. This force is indeed nothing in compariſon of that of France and Spain; but it will appear very conſiderable, when compared with the ſtrength of other Italian princes; beſides this, the fortreſſes of Piedmont are in good order. Upon theſe principles, therefore, we may ſafely lay it down, that though his revenue is not ſo large as that of the grand duke, yet he is one of the greateſt powers in Italy, and is juſtly eſteemed ſo by his neighbours, his allies, and his enemies.

With reſpect to the Britiſh nation, there is no power in Italy with the ſtrength and ſtate of which it imports us ſo much to be well acquainted as the crown of Sardinia. Nothing can be of greater importance to the trade of this nation, than the preſerving the balance in Italy, which, if loſt, muſt neceſſarily throw all that valuable branch of commerce, in which we have at preſent ſo large a ſhare, and from which we derive annually a conſiderable profit, into other hands, and, which is worſt of all, into the hands of the French; a thing againſt which we have as much reaſon to guard as a trading nation, as the king of Sardinia himſelf has cauſe to oppoſe as far as poſſible the growth of the French power, out of regard to his own ſafety. This ſufficiently ſhews that our intereſts are really mutual; and that there is nothing of political art in what we have been told, of the expediency of ſupporting this monarch againſt all his enemies, though at a large expence to ourſelves.

The noble dutchy of Milan, which has been deſervedly eſteemed one of the fineſt principalities in Europe, is above 240 miles in length, and 80 in breadth. It lies in a moſt excellent climate, and is bleſt with as fruitful a ſoil as any in Europe. The revenues that are drawn from it, amount to at leaſt 300,000 l. a year, beſides its furniſhing ſubſiſtence for

for 30,000 men, and enabling the court of Vienna to provide with governments and preferments, eccleſiaſtical, military, and civil, numbers of her dependents; and that too, which is no very eaſy matter, even to the extent of their hopes and wiſhes.

The dutchy of Mantua is alſo a very fine country, about 50 miles in length, of unequal breadth, the revenue of which is uſually computed at about a fourth part of that of Milan.

The whole extent of Tuſcany from North to South, is about 130 miles, and about 120 from Eaſt to Weſt. It was never thought an extravagant computation, when the revenues of this grand dutchy were eſtimated at between three and four millions of crowns yearly, one half of which, at leaſt in times of peace, remained ſafe in the coffers of the grand duke, or if it found its way out, was employed in trade, or lent to his ſubjects at a good intereſt.

Whether the ſavings are altogether as great now as in former times, may poſſibly admit of ſome doubt; but there is none with regard to the income, which is as great as ever.

The grand duke had alſo commonly 30,000 men in pay, or rather inrolled; but as they were ſeldom called to ſervice, ſome have ſuſpected that, inſtead of coſting him any thing, his troops might poſſibly contribute to the increaſe of his revenue. In the ſituation that things are now, there is a ſmall regular force, and but a very ſmall one, maintained by the grand duke; but the militia either are, or might be, put upon the ſame footing as in former times.

The dutchy of Modena, properly ſo called, comprehends one of the faireſt and moſt fruitful countries in Italy, abounding with corn, wine, oil, and fruits, very populous, and inhabited by an ingenious and induſtrious people. The dutchy of Mirandola, including that of Concordia, were very great acquiſitions to the family of Eſte, ſince their

revenues are moderately computed at 100,000 crowns a year. The duke of Modena in time of peace, enjoys a revenue of about 100,000 l. a year at leaſt, with which he maintains a very ſplendid court, and when his circumſtances render it requiſite, can keep up a body of 8,000 regular troops.

The greateſt length of the Eccleſiaſtical State may be about 240 Italian miles, and the breadth about 130. After the two crowned heads, the Pope is the moſt conſiderable power in Italy in point of dominions, and might be in every other reſpect, if any thing like the ſame policy was diſcoverable in the conduct of his temporal eſtates that is ſhewn in the management of his ſpiritual authority. As it is, his ſubjects are the hardeſt uſed, and yet his revenue is below that of any other prince, the extent of his territories conſidered, for it has never been computed at above two millions of Roman crowns; whereas Tuſcany, that is not half as big, produces twice as much to the grand duke. His regular troops are now only fit for ſhew, hardly any of his fortreſſes in a ſtate of defence, and though the gazettes ſometimes mention the Pope's gallies, his naval power is very inconſiderable.

The dutchies of Parma and Placentia, form together a very conſiderable ſovereignty; in length they are about 60 Engliſh miles, and their breadth is about 40. As to the climate it is without exception, being equally healthy and pleaſant; and with this the ſoil likewiſe correſponds, which is wonderfully fruitful; the vallies abound with all kind of fruit, with rich paſtures and excellent vineyards; and in the mountains they have both copper and ſilver mines. The revenues have formerly been computed at 600,000 crowns, but it may be doubted whether in their preſent ſituation, the people can raiſe above two thirds of that ſum; yet a few years of peace under a gentle adminiſtration would quickly reſtore

them to their former condition. It is ſuppoſed that theſe dutchies may maintain a regular force of about 6000 men, without any great detriment either to prince or people. The revenue of Guaſtalla is computed at 50 or 60,000 crowns.

The noble city of Venice, and the iſlands about it, are ſo populous, have ſo many manufactures, and ſtill carry on ſo great a trade, more eſpecially when the other powers of Italy are at war, and the ſubjects of the republic enjoy the benefit of her neutrality, that the revenue drawn from them by the ſtate amounts annually to three millions of ducats. On the Terra Firma, her countries are rich and fruitful, and the inhabitants drive a very great trade in the Levant, as well as in other parts of Europe. The entire revenue of the republic is computed at eight millions of ducats, and the annual expence does not commonly exceed half that; ſo that in time of peace they are conſtantly laying up large ſums. Before the fatal war of Candia, they had in their treaſury fifteen millions of ducats in ready money, excluſive of a famous gold chain, to which they annually added ſome links, which forty porters could hardly carry, and which, on certain feſtivals, was extended croſs the ſquare of St. Mark for the entertainment of the people. As they have now enjoyed peace thirty years, it may be preſumed that their coffers are again pretty full; ſo that upon any emergent neceſſity, they would be able to make much greater efforts than is commonly imagined.

SWITZERLAND.

As the Swiſs are naturally of a martial diſpoſition, and accuſtomed to arms from their youth, they uſually ſeek ſome foreign ſervice or other: thoſe of the popiſh cantons go into the French and Spaniſh pay; thoſe of the proteſtants, and not a few of the popiſh

likewiſe, into that of the States-general; but wherever they are, they have the honour to be accounted as good troops as any in the world. After ſome years ſervice, more or leſs, according to their contracts, the private men return home, though their corps remain ſtill in foreign ſervice, and are, from time to time, filled up with freſh recruits.

It is owing to theſe people that have ſerved abroad, both officers and ſoldiers, that the Swiſs are never at a loſs for as large and well-diſciplined an army as any government in Europe can raiſe, which are at the ſame time the guardians of their own liberty, and the protectors of their neighbour's freedom: neither is their power grounded only on opinion; for they have defended themſelves, at different times, againſt moſt of the great powers in Europe; and though they have been ſometimes outwitted, yet they were never beaten, or reduced to demand peace by any power whatever; ſo that they may be juſtly conſidered, taking in their ſituation and their militia, as the moſt unconquerable people in Europe.

It is very difficult, perhaps hardly poſſible, to make a juſt computation of the force of the Swiſs. Some ſay, that the canton of Berne alone can bring into the field 100,000 men; but thoſe who ſay this allow, that they could not maintain them for any time. Things are much changed with this nation from what they were formerly; for they have now ſeveral good fortreſſes, though heretofore they had none. Many of the gentry of Swiſſerland are very able ſtateſmen, as well as experienced officers, and ſuch in former times were very ſcarce. Several of the cantons now are very rich; and beſides vaſt ſums that they have locked up at home, have alſo great wealth in foreign banks, and particularly in our funds. Every great city is well furniſhed with artillery; and at Berne and Zurich they have field

and

and battering trains of braſs cannon, than which there are few better in Europe *.

JUAN FERNANDES, an iſland in the South-Sea. Commodore Roggewein, who was ſent into thoſe parts on diſcoveries, gives the following account of, as extracted by the editor of Harris's voyages. The larger iſland of Juan Fernandes is one of the fineſt and beſt ſituated countries in the world; the climate equally pleaſant and wholeſome; the air ſo temperate and ſweet, as to reſtore health to the ſick, and give a conſtant flow of ſpirits to thoſe that are well, which the author himſelf experienced, by recovering here from a bad ſtate of health and a complication of diſtempers. The hills are covered with tall trees of different kinds, fit for all ſorts of uſes; and the valleys are ſo fruitful, as to produce, with a very little cultivation, all the neceſſaries of life. He concludes his deſcription with this remark; that in order to give a juſt idea of the iſland to his reader, in a few words, he cannot think of a better expedient than telling him, that the country reſembles, in all reſpects, that about the Cape of Good Hope, where every body knows the Dutch have one of the fineſt plantations in the world, and the greateſt plenty of all European and Indian fruits.

The Dutch commodore having attentively conſidered the advantageous ſituation, and the many conveniences this iſland afforded, immediately conceived a deſign of ſettling i , as the moſt proper place that could be thought of for affording ſhelter and refreſhment to ſhips bound, as he was, to ſouthern lands. And he was encouraged particularly to perſevere in this deſign, from the conſideration of the iſland's fertility, which, as the author obſerves, allowed them no reaſon to doubt that it would afford ſufficient

* Preſent State of Europe, p. 466.

ſubſiſtence for 600 families at leaſt. It would have afforded a proper place for ſhips to careen in and refit, after ſo long a voyage as from Europe to the Streights of Magellan; and would have furniſhed them with all imaginable conveniencies for repairing whatever injuries they might have received by ſo hazardous a paſſage as that round Cape Horn. I therefore venture to pronounce it the beſt laid ſcheme for promoting ſouthern diſcoveries that ever yet entered the head of man; and I make no manner of queſtion, that whatever nation ſhall revive and proſecute Mr. Roggewein's plan, will become, in a few years, maſters of as rich and profitable a commerce as the Spaniards have from their own country to Mexico and Peru; or the Portugueſe to Brazil.

Juan Fernandes is certainly one of the wholeſomeſt and pleaſanteſt iſlands in America; and from whence, if it was once ſettled, the diſcovering of the ſouthern continent and iſlands muſt with eaſe follow. The great error of Roggewein was the poſtponing this ſettlement; becauſe the benefits which muſt have reſulted from it are apparent. We have ſo many accounts of the beauty and fertility of that iſland, that I think it may be laid down as an undeniable truth, that a propoſal for ſettling it would not meet with many difficulties, either here or in Holland. In both places people are to be met with, who, either for the ſake of getting bread, or from the hope of acquiring a fortune, would readily conſent to viſit the moſt unwholeſome countries, and to remain in the worſt climates: there would not, therefore, be certainly wanting enough to offer themſelves, upon proper encouragement, to go and reſide there; and the expence of fortifying the iſland, and providing them in every reſpect with what they wanted, would require no great ſum: yet whatever nation ſhall take this ſtep, and be at the expence, will have it abſo-

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lutely in their power to proſecute this ſcheme of diſcovery. The raiſing a fort, and putting in order the plantation of the iſland, might employ the firſt year, whenever this important deſign is properly purſued; and if two or three ſmall veſſels were left with the inhabitants, they might, by the arrival of a new ſquadron the next year, be able to report ſomewhat as to the probability of a diſcovery from thence, becauſe there are undoubtedly ſeveral iſlands which lie at no great diſtance from thence; and all of them in ſo good a climate, that no hardſhip need be feared in endeavouring to diſcover them. In conſequence of their report, and of the aſſiſtance received from the new colony, where the ſick might be put on ſhore, and their places ſupplied by freſh men, a great part of the ſouth continent might be diſcovered in one ſummer. For when the ſeamen were once ſecure of a good retreat, as the iſland of Juan Fernandes well ſettled would be, they would not be uneaſy, or afraid of wanting proviſions, if they cruized a few weeks, more or leſs, in the South Seas. Beſides, there would be no occaſion for reducing them to ſhort allowance; and while they lived in preſent plenty, and without apprehenſion of future wants, they would certainly be in ſufficient ſpirits to undertake any thing their officers could reaſonably expect from them.

The voyages of Schouten and Dampier, as well as commodore Roggewein's, plainly ſhew, that it is the dread of ſo long a run as to the Eaſt-Indies which intimidates the ſailors in theſe ſeas, and occaſions ſuch frequent mutinies, ſuch perpetual diſſentions, as muſt neceſſarily impede, and even defeat, the beſt laid project for diſcoveries. Add to all this, that in two or three years time there is the higheſt probability that the produce of the trade that might be eſtabliſhed in theſe ſouthern iſlands, would not only defray the expence of the undertaking, but

make conſiderable returns, and then all difficulties would be over. There would be enough ſtruggling to ſhine in the advantages of a commerce ſo long neglected; but the ſettlement at Juan Fernandes would prevent this, and ſecure, for at leaſt thirty or forty years, the greateſt part of the profit to the original proprietors.

This, or ſomething like it, was undoubtedly Mr. Roggewein's plan; and it muſt certainly add ſome degree of credit to his ſcheme, that it was twice approved by the Weſt India Company in Holland, the Directors of which are always men of buſineſs, and of diſtinguiſhed abilities, and who undoubtedly would not have been at ſo great an expence as his voyage coſt them, if they had not been perfectly well ſatisfied that the deſign was rational in all reſpects, and practicable in its nature.

I muſt confeſs that I have taken a great deal of pains upon this ſubject, from an earneſt deſire that this ſcheme of diſcovering theſe ſouthern Indies might appear in its true light to the Britiſh nation; and in order to ſhew how poſſible it is for us to reap the benefit, not of the diſcoveries only, but of the errors and overſights of other people. We are daily complaining, though I hope without reaſon, of the decay of trade: we are daily repining at the reſtrictions on our trade, for which, without doubt, there is more reaſon; ſince it is viſible, that the commerce between our own iſland and that of Barbadoes, employs five times the number of ſhips that are in the ſervice of all our excluſive companies put together: but complaints are effeminate things; we ought to behave like men, and endeavour to find remedies, if we really think ourſelves aggrieved. If, as many people ſay, moſt trades are overſtocked; or if, as moſt people ſay, the moſt beneficial branches of trade are cramped by the before-mentioned reſtrictions, it is undoubtedly our buſineſs to find out

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new trades if it be poſſible; or, at leaſt, it is worth our while to make ſome attempt, where, as in the preſent caſe, there is a probable proſpect of ſucceſs. For this purpoſe, there never was a ſeaſon more convenient than the preſent; the war (1746) has deſtroyed ſome branches of our trade, and ſuſpends many others; yet the war affords us fairer opportunities for undertaking any expeditions like this, than we could have in a time of profound peace We have now no reaſon to be complaiſant to the Spaniards, or to be afraid of the reſentment of our neighbours, in caſe we ſhould take poſſeſſion of Juan Fernandes, and ſettle it. In ſhort, we have nothing to fear, but all things to hope; all things to expect, if we are not wanting to ourſelves, and more inclined to complain of what we have not, than induſtrious to acquire what we might have with very little trouble. There may, indeed, be objected to all this, that the diſcoveries hitherto made conſiſt but of ſmall iſlands, or of continents not thoroughly examined: yet this objection proves nothing, if it be certain that ſuch of theſe iſlands as have been examined are well inhabited; and that the continents not examined are ſo ſituated, as to juſtify the obſervations made by our author in this voyage; becauſe, in this caſe, the objections amount to no more than this, that it is in vain to attempt to diſcover countries where there is no certainty of gaining great advantages: and what is this but ſaying, in other words, that we ought not to attempt diſcoveries at all.

If the world had been always of that mind, both the Eaſt and Weſt Indies had ſtill remained undiſcovered. What prejudice would have reſulted from thence to Europe, may appear from the conſideration of the different circumſtances of things, ſince the diſcovery of thoſe countries, which have undoubtedly occaſioned not only a mighty increaſe of

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ſhipping amongſt the nations poſſeſſed of plantations in thoſe parts, but alſo of domeſtic induſtry; and whatever increaſes the manufactures of a country, increaſes the wealth of its inhabitants: or take it in another light, and it plainly increaſes their happineſs, by enabling them to purchaſe by their labour the neceſſaries and the conveniencies of life, which otherwiſe (that is, without trade) their labour would not procure. To be more effectually convinced of this, we may compare the preſent ſtate of thoſe countries that actually carry on a large commerce in thoſe parts of the world, and the countries which have no ſuch commerce. For inſtance, what is the reaſon that Great-Britain and Holland make ſo much a greater figure in Europe, and that their ſubjects are ſo much richer than thoſe of Sweden or Denmark? Does it not plainly reſult from the great commerce of the former, compared with that of the latter? Is not this the opinion of the ableſt judges? And is it not confeſſed by the Swedes and Danes themſelves, who are now making great efforts, in order to obtain a ſhare in the commerce of the Eaſt-Indies, and have actually made ſome progreſs in their deſign? Let us conſider, therefore, that if other nations proceed, and we ſtand ſtill, they will certainly overtake us; and before they do this, our trade muſt neceſſarily decay and fall off.

To prevent this, the ſafeſt, plaineſt, and moſt ſpeedy method is, to endeavour to make new diſcoveries; that is, in effect, to endeavour finding out new markets. If there be ſo large a tract of country as our author ſuppoſes, and ſo many iſlands undiſcovered in the ſouth, they muſt be worth the diſcovery, for theſe reaſons: if any of theſe countries are abſolutely uninhabited, we are at leaſt ſure that they lie in ſuch a climate as gives us hopes of their producing the richeſt commodities, or a certainty of our being able to produce them, by raiſing new colonies

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and plantations. We ſhall very ſoon be ſatisfied of this, if we reflect on the advantages derived from the ſettling the ſmall iſland of Barbadoes; and if the profits ariſing from ſugar are ſo large, what might be expected, or rather, what might we not expect from a country of the ſame extent, which would produce cloves, nutmegs, or cinnamon? It is true that formerly the power of the Dutch might have been apprehended, who have ſhewn a very ſtubborn reſolution of keeping theſe rich commodities entirely to themſelves: but at preſent there can be no ſuch fear, becauſe our maritime power is ſufficient to protect any juſt pretenſion; and, on the other, we ought not to ſuſpect that our governors would have ſuch a complaiſance for any foreign intereſt, as to ſacrifice to it our own. On the other hand, if theſe ſouthern countries are inhabited by ſavages, there is a great probability of our obtaining the moſt valuable commodities, either in exchange for the neceſſaries of life, or for thoſe trifles which we know by experience ſuch ſavages naturally admire.

But it may be, and indeed is far more probable, that there are civilized nations in many, or at leaſt in ſome of theſe countries; and with them no doubt we may carry on a very advantageous trade: for the commodities of one part of the world are always conſidered as rarities in another part; and as rarities they will naturally fetch a high price. So that if we can but once eſtabliſh a trade, and a trade at ſo great a diſtance, it muſt turn much to our benefit *.

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LABOUR, price of, ſuppoſed by ſome to depend on that of proviſions, erroneous.

The proportion between the rates of labour and the prices of proviſions is the foundation of at leaſt

* Harris's Voyages and Travels, Vol. i. p. 264. 320.

forty

forty publications, and a ſubject that has been treated by ſome of the ableſt writers on domeſtic œconomy in England, France, and Holland. One of the moſt common axioms that have been laid down by theſe gentlemen, ever ſince the firſt undertakings of Colbert in the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, has been that proviſions muſt be kept low, that the rates of labour may be the ſame; all of them ſeeming to take for granted, that if the one was effected, the other muſt follow of courſe. Had ſuch an idea dropped by chance from the pen of one or two writers, though of reputation, it would not be a matter of conſequence; but this is not the caſe; it is the corner-ſtone of a vaſt fabric in modern politics; the whole manufacturing and trading intereſt of nations are ſaid totally to depend on it; and the fall of ſome countries, with the riſe of others, have been attributed to this cauſe; and theſe ſentiments are adopted and publiſhed by numerous moſt reſpectable authors, who have enlightened almoſt every ſubject they have treated.

While opinions have ſuch an authority for their foundation, the moſt one can venture to do, is, to examine if general maxims have not been laid down without ſufficiently attending to exceptions; an error too common in the greateſt writers. The aſſertions that have been ſo generally hazarded, either tend ſtrongly to evince that the rates of labour depend on thoſe of proviſions, or they tend to nothing; if it is meant with relation not to different diſtricts of the ſame kingdom, but on compariſon of one againſt another, the ſmalleſt knowledge is ſufficient to ſhew that other cauſes muſt be recurred to, becauſe where proviſions are of very little value, labour, we are told, is extremely dear, from the natural difficulty of inducing thoſe to work, who can live without it; not to ſpeak of manufactures, an aggregate of labour flouriſhing moſt where

where proviſions are deareſt; whereas if the latter regulated the price of the former, the cheapeſt countries of Europe ought to have the greateſt fabrics, which is the direct reverſe of truth.

For this reaſon there is as much propriety in examining this argument by the variations of the different provinces of the ſame kingdom, as thoſe of different nations.

No one can wonder at the idea in general of labour depending on proviſions, becauſe it is ſo natural, that it ought ever to be the fact. A labourer's earnings ſhould be guided by his neceſſary expences; for if he earns double, treble, &c. he will no longer be a labourer, but a maſter, or merely idle. Thus in the great diſtinctions of rates, not ſuch as are any where to be found, but may be ſuppoſed, this dependance would become real; for if bread was to be ſixpence a pound, and meat one ſhilling, an cheeſe nine pence, and ſo forth, it is very evident that labour muſt greatly riſe or the poor ſtarve; but caſes, which can have no exiſtence, ought not to be the occaſion of ſuch arguments. In the ſlighter deviations which are really co-exiſting, but in different places, we muſt look for facts to guide us in ſuch enquiry.

A modern author of real abilities *, ſtarts on this ſubject an idea, which ſeems extremely juſt. He obſerves that the rates of labour cannot be decided by thoſe of proviſions; and, as an inſtance, aſks if a weaver could live upon air, whether he would ſell his labour ſo much the cheaper? attributing the variations to the competition of demand; a notion in which he has been copied by more than one inſignificant ſcribbler; but this is a new idea; if it is juſt, the old one of proviſions being the guide muſt be falſe. The point under conſideration, when we are

* Sir James Stuart in his Political Oeconomy.

examining

examining the circumſtances, relative to various prices of neceſſaries, is to prove how juſt the aſſertions of numerous authors are, on that ſubject. We are to prove that labour does not depend on proviſions; it is an after enquiry to ſhew on what it does depend; and not ſo nearly connected with an undertaking of this ſort.

From various compariſons between labour and proviſions, I muſt be allowed to ſuppoſe they have no other connection than in very great variations, and not always in them; but in the intermediate ſpaces, the whole depends on other cauſes, or on chance. It is not difficult to ſuppoſe ſeveral that may have an influence.

The great cauſe is probably the proportion there may be between the demand and the hands to ſupply it; for if many men are wanted, and few to be had, prices will riſe, tho' the people lived upon air. There are more variations in demand than may be at firſt thought of; all public and parliamentary works affect a whole neighbourhood; great private undertakings do the ſame; improvements in huſbandry, ſuch as incloſing, marling, claying, &c. Another great ſource of variation is, the manner in which our poor laws are executed; if the poor are, through the juſtices biaſs, favoured greatly to the encouraging idleneſs, it will have the ſame effect in taking hands from the old quantum of work, as a freſh demand, and prices muſt in conſequence riſe. Theſe and ſeveral other cauſes, it is very clear, would operate without any dependance on the price of proviſions.

It is the manufacturing intereſt in this kingdom, that has uſually complained of the rates of proviſions raiſing the price of their labour; or perhaps more the ſentiments of various writers, than of perſons really concerned in our fabrics. But their complaints are certainly groundleſs: ſome of our manufactures have ſunk and others have riſen. Has the former been

been the effect of dearneſs of proviſions or the latte rof cheapneſs? Manufactures have declined in Suffolk, and flouriſhed in Yorkſhire and Somerſetſhire, and all the Weſt; but Suffolk, of all theſe, is the cheapeſt. They decline in Suffolk, and riſe in Norfolk, though proviſions be the ſame in both.

And let it be remembered, that while proviſions are at a regular price, labour is irregular; great orders for goods from abroad raiſe the prices much, though proviſions remain exactly the ſame.

All theſe circumſtances would be different, if there were arbitrary laws of police to force men to work at rates decided by variations in the prices of proviſions. How far this is the caſe in France, I am not clearly informed; but how they can now, and for ſome time laſt paſt, be rivalling us in manufactures from cheapneſs of proviſions, I cannot underſtand, while it is very well known, that we ſhould have exported much corn to them without any bounty, had the ports been open, which is a plain proof, that wheat has been higher there than in England.

But ſuppoſing this was not the caſe, yet are we not to aſſert that nations are on an equality, becauſe a weaver in one receives a ſhilling, and in another has no more: there are many circumſtances which ſhould be taken to account. Will a Frenchman work as much, and as well, in a given time, for the ſame pay as an Engliſhman? Is a Dutchman and an Engliſhman exactly upon a par? Surely theſe queſtions are of eſſential conſequence, but who will anſwer them? Is no account to be taken of numerous holidays in one country, few in another?

Are not all neceſſaries to be conſidered? The French manufacturer pays, perhaps, leſs for bread and drink than the Britiſh one; but who pays moſt in perſonal taxes, beſides numerous others? Which, under the burthen of a numerous family, meets with moſt

moſt eaſe and relief? The Frenchman muſt earn for all, and not keep from ſtarving perhaps at laſt, but not the Engliſhman: a miſerable oppreſſed life muſt have many days of neceſſary relief from work, and much work badly done. Is nothing to be allowed for theſe articles?

But all that is French is to fill this country with terror, while the ſuperior power of that kingdom threatened the liberties of Europe. Such apprehenſions were political, and kept up a conſtant vigilance to watch her motions. But as well might a Greek dread the power of the great king, after Alexander's expedition, or an Engliſhman, under Cromwell, tremble at that of Spain, as any one in the preſent age fear the ſuperior genius of France. Nations have their grandeur, but they have alſo their declenſion; and there is not in the records of hiſtory an inſtance of one flouriſhing to a moſt formidable height, and then ſinking regularly for near fourſcore years, which has been the caſe with France ſince the peace of Nimeguen, and afterwards enjoying a reſurrection to dreaded power.

Let us not, therefore, be filled with vain fears and apprehenſions of every manufacture, every advantage, gained by France. We have nothing to dread from the power of the houſe of Bourbon; and thoſe who pretend that the manufactures and trade of that kingdom are to deſtroy ours, ſpeak like merchants that have not an idea beyond their counting houſes; inſtead of taking a view of the progreſs of human affairs, and from the paſt judging of the future. The manufactures of France have declined ſince the laſt century. Where are a fourth of the forty thouſand looms at Lyons, now to be found? Where are her twenty millions of inhabitants? Where is the revenue of Lewis XIV.? Where his four hundred thouſand men in arms, reſiſting three fourths of Europe? Where the navy that rode triumphant

umphant in the Engliſh channel? Where is the men ſo blind as not to ſee that the power of France is ſunk, and that ſhe has but the remains of her former fame to patch out a ragged reputation? Need I reverſe the medal? Does this nation want to have her ſtate explained? Let her go to the croaking politicians, who tell her of the "unproſperous ſituation of our public affairs" and feaſt on ridiculous tales of declenſion and ruin †.

LANDED INTEREST. The true landed intereſt from the nature of the property muſt be the ſame as that of the ſtate, it being the only kind of property which cannot be removed. Whenever ſtocks become unſaleable, they will be no longer ſecure, nor will they then continue a property of value. Other kinds of perſonal property, will be always ſaleable or removeable; and can be made like arts, ſkill, and labour to emigrate from the kingdom.

Extenſive population ought equally to be the leading object of the ſtate and landed men. The ground rents in flouriſhing towns are by far the moſt valuable of all kinds of landed property: and the value of all kinds of lands muſt ever be proportional to their vicinity to cities and opulent towns, from the more than ordinary profitable uſes to which they thence become applied; as alſo from the ſaving of time as well as of the expence that would be incurred by the conveyance of any kinds of products to diſtant places of ſale. Sir William Petty calcualted that in his time, ſo much land as let for twenty ſhillings a year was worth eight pounds in Ireland, twenty pounds in England, and thirty pounds in Holland. Theſe differences in value he juſtly attributed to the different degrees of population and riches that were then in the reſpective countries; though they in part were likewiſe owing to the different application of lands.

† Farmer's Tour through England, Vol. 4. p. 354.

It were greatly to be wiſhed, that the minds of eſtated men, were fully open to conviction of the following truths, that a foreign trade in corn muſt be ever uncertain and precarious, as is evidently the caſe in Sicily the granary of the South: for it is not uncommon for the people of that country to have great part of the crops of ſeveral years lying upon hand, from a want of purchaſers: but that a home conſumption will be always regular and certain. Whence it muſt follow to be decided with certainty, that the landed man's great object ſhould be population at home, for the ſure conſumption of his commodities.

The infinitely greateſt and moſt certain improvement of landed property, would be for a man to get a town built on his eſtate, large enough to conſume all the products of his grounds: for then the conſumption of his commodities would become far more regular and certain, than he could poſſibly experience from having every port of the world open to him, for occaſional exportation. Such would become the good fortune of many, if the bounties on exportation were taken off to favour manufactories, and our trade in ſuch exports: and though corn might then ſell cheaper, the money would proportionally go farther: ſo that every conſequent improvement would be ſo much clear gains to the landlord, while by the ſame means, advantages to the nation would become inconceivably augmented.

The true intereſt of landed men muſt then be to encourage manufactures, which muſt ſupport population; according to the degree of which there may be in a country, will be the value of lands by the only natural and durable means. It is a groundleſs opinion which many people have entertained, that this kingdom may have too much trade in manufactures, becauſe it can extend no other than an induſtrious population. A trader might juſt as wiſely ap-

prehend

prehend having too great a ſtock, with too many cuſtomers to purchaſe it, and too many neighbours for his defence; for the apprehenſion would be ſimilar. A country cannot poſſibly have too many well employed people; though it greatly may of ſuch as are idle, or burthenſome, becauſe thoſe are every where both uſeleſs and miſchievous. Thus cloſely is the landed intereſt like that of the ſtate, linked with trade *.

Theſe ideas are however very different from thoſe of another writer better known, who expreſſes himſelf as follows:

In ſome towns poor rates from 7 s. to 17 s. in the pound, are miſerable marks that they have had the curſe of manufactures amongſt them; an inſtance that the trading ſyſtem ever ſtands on crazy foundations. Let the writer name a tract in which agriculture falls in ruins; even around the places above named, although huſbandry is enormouſly burthened by the manufacturing poor, ſhe flouriſhes as much, and around Colcheſter more, than in nine tenths of Britain, ſo little truth is there in the vague aſſertions that the local value of land depends on the neighbourhood of manufactures. The ſoil round Lincoln, which poſſeſſes not one fabric, lets higher than at Iſlington; nay, ſome of it twice as high.

Go to towns where manufactures are the moſt flouriſhing, you will there find poor rates higher than than any where elſe; except where they have nurſed up great numbers of inhabitants, and then fled to leave them ſtarving.

I ſubſcribe as readily as any one to the importance of that general aggregate of induſtry, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; but let not the profeſſors of one moſt falſely ſuppoſe the other is to be ſacrificed on her altars; but if ever unfortunate queſ-

† Conſiderations on the Policy, &c. of this Kingdom, p. 185.

tions ſhould be ſtarted, in which a preference muſt be given to one, none but a fool can imagine that the landlords of this great empire of above fourſcore millions of acres, are to yield to the tranſitory ſons of trade and manufacture.

I ſhall venture to hazard one more reflexion. Carry to a fair account, every advantage ever coming from the introduction of foreign trade and manufactures; not the export of our products of whatever kind, becauſe that is agriculture, and not the commerce we are ſpeaking of here. Calculate the increaſed value of land, the general briliancy diffuſed through life, from the circulation of immenſe wealth, the acquiſition of great naval power, vaſt armies, and unbounded treaſures, of conqueſt and ſo on.

Then turn to the other ſide of the account, and minute the cheapneſs of money; the increaſe of thoſe expences, and that luxury which the landlord would never have known: a debt of above one hundred millions, the very child of trade; taxes to the amount of ten millions per annum; poor rates in all their amount; a ſituation juſt as precarious as wealth; and if all theſe points, and a thouſand others, are well conſidered, I am thoroughly perſuaded, that the landlords of this country, have ſuffered in their intereſts, more than to the amount of all the advantages they have gained from the increaſe of money.

The value of the ſoil at the market price, being the years purchaſe at which land is ſold, is an object of no ſlight value in political arithmetic; for the riſe of that price at various periods, ſince the beginning of the laſt century, has been often produced as the grand proof of the great increaſe in value, which reſults from an increaſe of foreign commerce; and to ſhew how much indebted the landed intereſt is to trade. The argument was uſed ſtrongly by D'Avenant,

mant, and has been repeated ten thouſand times ſince: it is certainly a ſenſible one, but when adopted by weaker writers, has been puſhed, like moſt others, too far; for the lands of England have riſen in value, not ſo much in direct proportion to the progreſs of our foreign commerce, as to the increaſed quantity of money in Europe, which has raiſed the price of all ſorts of commodities, not only in countries poſſeſſing foreign commerce, but alſo in thoſe which have none; for let intercourſe, home trade, and other circumſtances be at ever ſo low an ebb, ſtill money will preſerve ſomething of that level ſo ingeniouſly ſtated by Mr. Hume; and as an inſtance that the riſe of the value of land in England, is not wholly owing to foreign commerce, I quote Poland, which poſſeſſes no foreign commerce, and yet the value of the lands in that country, I am informed on good authority, has riſen very conſiderably in the laſt 170 years; and this ſhould be ſufficient to make thoſe writers who are ever haranguing on the advantages of commerce in oppoſition to thoſe reſulting from agriculture, with ſuch unguarded vehemence, more cautious in their general aſſertions. None but a fool or a madman can aſſert that an extended commerce will not raiſe the value of land, but it does not therefore follow, that its effects ſhould take place to the excluſion of all others; all our exported commodities of our own growth and product, ſuch as wool, leather, tin, copper, &c. would without any help from foreign commerce, raiſe the value of land, by bringing a price proportioned to the quantity of money in Europe †.

It may not, ſays another writer, be improper to offer a few conſiderations on behalf of the landed intereſt of this kingdom; that landed intereſt which by our native products being exported abroad, has intro-

† Farmer's Tour, Vol. 4. p. 363. 390.

duced ſuch immenſe riches to our nation, with this farther circumſtance in its favour, that excepting the bounty, it has never put government to any expence for its protection, nor has it involved us in any war for its ſecurity; at the ſame time it pays a moſt liberal tax, collected by the leaſt burthenſome method; nay, it pays moreover all the duties and exciſes that are impoſed upon the ſale of its productions, the amount of which, as the great Mr. Locke has fully proved, falls at laſt with an accumulated weight upon the land and land-owners. Indeed, upon the whole we find the connection between land and trade ſo united in their mutual dependencies, that it is difficult to lay a burthen upon the one, which will not be attended with a prejudice to the other *.

LATITUDE. When commodore Roggewein was about to enter on the diſcoveries, the hopes of which had brought him into the South Sea, it was but natural for him and his principal officers to lay before the ſhip's company a part of the reaſons which induced them to believe their pains and labour would not be thrown away. Our author has preſerved the ſubſtance of thoſe diſcourſes, which are beyond queſtion the moſt valuable part of his book; inaſmuch as they diſtinguiſh between wanderers or adventurers, who know not what they ſeek, and ſuch as have a real title to the honourable name of diſcoverers, as going in actual ſearch of what their prudent foreſight had ſhewn them might be found; and alſo plentifully reward their trouble in finding. The main end propoſed by ſuch ſtates as ſubſiſt by commerce with regard to diſcoveries, is the finding ſuch countries, as may take off their commodities, and be in a condition to furniſh them with what may be more valuable in return. It is agreeable to

* Laws and Policy of England, &c. p. 58.

reaſon,

reaſon, and juſtified by experience, that countries exceſſively cold are generally barren, and that thoſe which are immoderately hot are not the moſt fruitful. It follows therefore by the laws of nature, that the middle climates, are the moſt fruitful. In order to diſtinguiſh thoſe, we are to remember that in the height of ſixty-ſix degrees thirty minutes, the days are twenty-four hours long, and conſequently the middle climate, which geographers have diſtinguiſhed in their tables by the fifth, will be found in the height of thirty-eight degrees. If this appears to be agreeable to reaſon, it ſeems to be put out of doubt, when we join the arguments derived from experience; for it muſt be allowed that ſuch provinces of Barbary, Perſia, Syria, Chaldea, and Indoſtan, as well as the iſlands Candia, Cyprus, and Japan, which lie all in this climate, that is to ſay from the thirtieth to the thirty-ſixth degrees of latitude, are the richeſt, pleaſanteſt, and moſt fruitful countries in the world. The ſame thing is remarkable in the country of Canaan, where the province of Galilee was eſteemed the faireſt and moſt fruitful, becauſe ſituated fartheſt to the North, and conſequently neareſt to the latitude we recommend.

In the New World again, the provinces of Carolina, Florida, New Mexico, and California, all lying in the fifth North climate, are comparable in point of beauty and fertility to any part of the known world; and it is certainly a great fault in their inhabitants, not to have cultivated thoſe countries as they deſerve. In South America again, the provinces in this climate, equal in beauty and in riches any countries hitherto diſcovered. The Cape of Good Hope is ſo charming a place, that there are very few countries that equal, and none that ſurpaſs it. The air there is exceedingly wholeſome; the ſoil produces in abundance, wine, corn, and the moſt excellent fruits; they have likewiſe ſuch infinite quanti-

ties of cattle, tame, and wild fowl, that the people live as it were in paradiſe. The country of Chili is likewiſe conſidered as one of the fineſt in the world; and the city of St. Jago, its capital, ſtands in the latitude of 33 degrees 40 minutes ſouth. The Spaniards would have us believe, that there is nothing equal to it. And it is at the ſame time certain, that the provinces behind it, and which extend quite to the north ſeas, are almoſt incredibly fruitful.

Such as are acquainted with different climates will readily agree with me, that the heat is greater in the iſland of Ceylon and on the coaſt of Malabar than in the countries ſituated under the torrid zone, and in the firſt climate. On the other ſide, it is certain, that the kingdom of Bengal and the country of Surat is ſtill much warmer than Malabar, as being in the third climate, whereas Malabar is in the ſecond. The warmth of the air, and the fertility of the ſoil increaſe from Surat to Delli, which is the capital of the dominions of the Great Mogul, the former lying in 21 degrees, and the latter in 30 degrees latitude. The heat is much greater at Gombron, which is ſeated on the gulph of Balſora, than at Surat, the former being in the fourth climate. All that I have advanced is ſo clear, and withal ſo certain, that it is not liable to the leaſt objection. From theſe remarks, founded on experience, we may juſtly infer, becauſe we can invincibly prove it, that the fifth climate is ſuperior to the reſt, and the countries ſeated therein the beſt, and moſt fruitful; if it was not ſo, the heat under the torrid zone would be abſolutely inſupportable, the earth would be burnt up, and incapable of producing any thing for the nouriſhment of men, or the ſubſiſtence of beaſts. On the other hand, the northern countries even the height of ſummer, would have ſo little heat that they would produce nothing: we ſee however that in our northern regions, ſuch for inſtance as Sweden, Poland, and Livonia, the

force

force of the ſun produces in a fortnight or three weeks, as great effects as in two or three months in the countries under the line itſelf. The reaſon is plainly this, that in the northern countries the nights being extremely ſhort, the earth has not time to cool, but remains continually heated, and that to a degree ſometimes as vehement as under the firſt climate: but this does not laſt long, for as ſoon as the rays of the ſun begin to fall obliquely, the nights grow long, which is the reaſon that in thoſe countries neither plants nor fruits ever arrive at full maturity.

The countries in the ſixth climate are leſs fertile than thoſe in the fifth; and for the ſame reaſon, the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth climates yield to the ſixth; and that the richneſs and fertility of the ſoil conſtantly and regularly diminiſhes to the twenty-fourth climate, under which lie the Laplands, the extremity of Ruſſia and Siberia. To conclude, if a traveller had a mind to put this to the teſt, by making a voyage through all the different climates of the earth, he would certainly find the poſition before laid down, viz. That the moſt fruitful, the moſt delightful, and of conſequence the moſt deſirable countries lie in the fifth climate, certain and inconteſtible. Such a journey would lead him to Tyre in Syria, the country about which all writers agree to be the moſt delightful; thence he ought to proceed to Tunis, and along the coaſt of Barbary, celebrated likewiſe for the wholeſomeneſs of the air, and the fertility of the ſoil. He muſt take the Cape of Good Hope alſo in his paſſage, where he would find a country lovely beyond deſcription: Laſtly, he muſt proceed to Nankin and the province of Honan in China; but if he would ſave himſelf this trouble, let him examine the accounts of thoſe who have been in theſe countries, and he will no longer have any doubts *.

* Harris's Voyages and Travels, Vol. I. p. 264.

LIN-

LINEN. It is computed by Thomas Pryor, Eſq; of Dublin, that the value of the linen made in Ireland yearly, amounts to a million ſterling; and that half thereof is yearly exported, and that the remaining half is conſumed at home; reckoning five ſhillings a head for two millions of people, one with another, for all their conſumption of linen.

It is alſo computed that the following quantities of rough flax, ſuch as we have from Riga, worth forty ſhillings the hundred weight, will give employment for a whole year to the following number of perſons, one with another, including ſpinners, hecklers, weavers, bleachers, &c. viz. a hundred weight of flax will employ for a year two hands; a ton, or twenty hundred weight, forty hands; a hundred tons will employ four thouſand hands; a thouſand tons will employ forty thouſand hands; and 3125 tons will employ 125,000 hands.

It is alſo computed, that the following quantities of rough flax, worth forty ſhillings the hundred weight when fully manufactured into linen, will, at a medium of coarſe and fine, be worth the following ſums annexed to them, viz. a hundred weight of flax, when manufactured into linen, will be worth 16 l. a ton will be worth 320 l. a hundred tons will yield 32,000 l. and 3125 tons will yield a million ſterling.

It is alſo eſtimated that a good acre of flax will produce three, four, five, or ſix hundred weight, and if we allow four hundred weight, or thirty-two ſtone to be raiſed from every acre, one with another, in a year, which is a reaſonable allowance, on that ſuppoſition the aforeſaid 3125 tons of flax, which are all that are at preſent ſuppoſed to be made uſe of in our linen manufacture, before eſtimated to be of the value of a million ſterling in a year, may be raiſed from 15625 acres only; and if we allow but three hundred weight, or twenty-four ſtone to be raiſed from every acre,

acre, one with another, which is a low computation, then it will require about 20,832 acres to raiſe the aforeſaid quantity of 3125 tons of flax.

If theſe computations or eſtimates are true, or near the truth, as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe them to be, ſince they come from perſons well ſkilled in the linen manufacture, they will afford grounds for making the following obſervations.

It appears that we have two millions of people in Ireland, yet no more than a ſixteenth part of them, viz. 125006, are fully employed in the linen manufacture, our ſtaple commodity; that number being ſufficient, if employed the whole year round, to make linens to the value of a million ſterling, which is computed to be the value of all the linen yearly made at preſent, allowing eight pounds ſterling to each perſon, one with another, yearly, for their work.

Though Ireland, which contains eleven millions of acres, hath ſeveral millions in it fit for the growth of flax, yet we ſee there are not above 13,000 acres in it employed that way; for though 16,000 acres may be ſufficient to ſupply the 3125 tons of flax employed in our manufactures, yet as we import yearly from foreign countries 500 tons of flax, a deduction ought to be made: and as it will be found that we do not raiſe above 2600 tons of flax of our own growth yearly, the reſt being imported; therefore, 13,000 acres will be ſufficient to produce that quantity, allowing four hundred weight of flax to be produced from each acre.

From hence it evidently follows, that as we neither want hands nor lands, and may command and employ what number and quantity we pleaſe, and yet have a great deal to ſpare, it is in our power to double the quantity, and value of our linen manufactures by employing double the quantity of land in raiſing flax, and double the number of hands in working it up into linen,

linen, which would yield a million ſterling yearly profit to the nation more than we make at preſent, with a great proſpect of its continuing ſtill to increaſe, ſince we have no reaſon to apprehend that we ſhall ever want a vent for all the linens we can make.

It appears from the foregoing calculations, that the nation would receive an additional profit of 64,000l. yearly for every thouſand acres that ſhould be employed more than are at preſent in raiſing of flax, and working up the ſame into linen, and thereby employ 8000 hands more.

LIBERTY*. There is no word which admits of more various ſignifications, and has made more different impreſſions of the human mind than that of liberty. Some have taken it for a facility of depoſing a perſon on whom they had conferred a tyrannical authority; others for the power of chooſing a ſuperior whom they are obliged to obey; others for the right of bearing arms, and of being thereby enabled to uſe violence; others, in fine, for the privilege of being governed by a native of their own country, or by their own laws. A certain nation for a long time thought liberty conſiſted in the privilege of wearing a long beard. Some have annexed this name to one form of government excluſive of others: thoſe who had a republican taſte applied it to this ſpecies of polity; thoſe who liked a monarchical ſtate, gave it to monarchy. Thus they have all applied the name of liberty to the government moſt ſuitable to their own cuſtoms and inclinations: and as in republics the people have not ſo conſtant and ſo preſent a view of the cauſes of their miſery, and as the magiſtrates ſeem to act only in conformity to the laws, hence liberty is generally ſaid to reſide in republics, and to be baniſhed from monarchies. In fine, as in democracies the people ſeem to act almoſt as they pleaſe; this ſort of government has been

* In alphabetical ſtrictneſs, this article is not in its proper place.

deemed

deemed the moſt free, and the power of the people has been confounded with their liberty.

It is true that in democracies the people ſeem to act as they pleaſe; but political liberty does not conſiſt in an unlimited freedom. In governments, that is in ſocieties directed by laws, liberty can conſiſt only in the power of doing what we ought to will, and in not being conſtrained to do what we ought not to will.

We muſt have continually preſent to our minds the difference between independence and liberty.

Liberty is a right of doing whatever the laws permit; and if a citizen could do what they forbid, he would be no longer poſſeſſed of liberty, becauſe all his fellow citizens would have the ſame power.

Democratic and ariſtocratic ſtates are not in their own nature free. Political liberty is to be found only in moderate governments: and even in theſe it is not always found. It is there only when there is no abuſe of power; but conſtant experience ſhews us that every man inveſted with power is apt to abuſe it; and to carry his authority as far as it will go. Is it not ſtrange, though true, to ſay, that virtue itſelf has need of limits?

To prevent this abuſe it is neceſſary, from the very nature of things, power ſhould be a check to power. A government may be ſo conſtituted, as no man ſhall be compelled to do things to which the law does not oblige him, nor forced to abſtain from things which the law permits.

Though all governments have the ſame general end, which is that of preſervation, yet each has another particular object. Increaſe of dominion was the object of Rome; war that of Sparta; religion that of the Jewiſh-laws; commerce that of Marſeilles; public tranquility that of the laws of China; navigation, that of the laws of Rhodes; natural liberty that of the policy of the Savages; in general,

the pleaſures of the prince, that of deſpotic ſtates; that of monarchies, the prince's and the kingdom's glory: the independance of individuals is the end aimed at by the laws of Poland, from thence reſults the oppreſſion of the whole *.

I am apt, ſays another ingenious writer, to entertain a ſuſpicion that the world is yet too young to fix many general truths in politics, which will remain true to the lateſt poſterity. We have not as yet had experience of three thouſand years; ſo that not only the art of reaſoning is ſtill defective in this ſcience as well as in all others, but we even want ſufficient materials upon which we can reaſon. 'Tis not fully known what degrees of refinement either in virtue or vice human nature is ſuſceptible of; nor what may be expected of mankind from any great revolution in their education, cuſtoms, or principles. Machiavel was certainly a great genius; but having confined his ſtudy to the furious and tyrannical governments of antient times, or to the little diſorderly principalities of Italy, his reaſonings, eſpecially upon monarchical government have been found extremely defective; and there is ſcarce any maxim in his Prince, which ſubſequent experience has not entirely refuted. "A weak prince (ſays he) is incapable of receiving good counſel; for if he conſults with ſeveral, he will not be able to chooſe among their different counſels. If he abandons himſelf to one, that miniſter may, perhaps, have capacity; but he will not be long a miniſter: he will be ſure to diſpoſſeſs his maſter, and place himſelf and his family upon the throne." I mention this among innumerable inſtances of the errors of that politician proceeding, in a great meaſure, from his having lived in too early an age of the world to be a good judge of political

* Monteſquieu's Spirit of Laws, Vol. I. page 220.

truth.

truth. Almoſt all the princes of Europe are at preſent governed by their miniſters; and have been ſo for near two centuries; and yet no ſuch event has ever happened, or can poſſibly happen. Sejanus might project dethroning the Cæſars; but Fleury, though ever ſo vicious, could not, while in his ſenſes, entertain the leaſt hopes of diſpoſſeſſing the Bourbons †.

What on earth is ſo valuable as freedom? Can any ſacrifices too great be made for the preſervation of that, without which nothing is any longer of value; without which all poſſeſſion even of the common rights of nature the enjoyment, of health, family, fortune, and every thing moſt dear to the human mind, is totally precarious? Can any one heſitate a moment in anſwering this query? A florid deſcription of the horrors of a civil war may be the anſwer. But why are theſe effects called horrors? Surely becauſe they are deſtructive of thoſe very connections and poſſeſſions above recited; the ſecurity of which fly on the approach of arbitrary power. Can a civil war be the ruin of any thing which deſpotiſm will ſpare? Are not domeſtic convulſions temporary, and the loſs of liberty perpetual? May not the ſecurity of every thing valuable to mankind be rendered permanent by a reſolute defence of liberty? Is any thing gained by its loſs? Where in the name of common ſenſe can be found an argument ſufficient to level the compariſon?

The following paſſage in Mr. Hume deſerves particular attention: "Matters, therefore, in caſe of a revolution muſt be truſted to their natural progreſs and operation, and the houſe of commons, according to its preſent conſtitution, muſt be the only legiſlature in ſuch a popular government. The inconveniences attendin ; ſuch a ſituation preſent themſelves

† Hume's Eſſays.

by

by thouſands. If the houſe of commons in ſuch a caſe ever diſſolves itſelf, which is not to be expected, we may look for a civil war every election. If it continues itſelf, we ſhall ſuffer all the tyranny of a faction ſubdivided into new factions. And as ſuch a violent government cannot long ſubſiſt, we ſhall at laſt, after infinite convulſions and civil wars, find repoſe in abſolute monarchy, which it would be happier for us to have eſtabliſhed peaceably from the beginning. Abſolute monarchy, therefore, is the eaſieſt death, the true euthanaſia of the Britiſh conſtitution." But why, in the firſt place, is the houſe of commons to be the only legiſlature in ſuch a caſe? Will it ever be again in the power of the commons to ſet aſide the houſe of lords as uſeleſs? Granting the poſition, we ſhould then, ſays he, " ſuffer the tyranny of a faction ſubdivided into new factions." But what ſhall we ſuffer in the repoſe of abſolute monarchy: the term of tyranny is very readily beſtowed on the democratical mode; but, according to this author, the deſpotic is quite another thing. Will not thoſe who have the moſt common ideas of common liberty, call that a tyranny, and the delegated authority of the tyrant to the loweſt of his officers a ſubdiviſion of tyranny? with this miſerable addition, that this violent government will probably laſt long. Fine repoſe in abſolute monarchy! What is this bleſſed repoſe? I know not a caſe to which it is applicable. The immediate oppreſſion of the monarch himſelf, though exceſſively heavy, may be ſomewhat regular; but are not the miſerable inhabitants of ſuch countries expoſed to tyranny in the ſhape of every ſuperior? What repoſe has the induſtrious huſbandman (and let us not forget that thoſe who live by cultivating the land are three fourths of the people) under the grinding exactions of every petty revenue officer? Under the oppreſſive ſuperiority of the loweſt of the nobleſſe? What repoſe do

the

the inferior nobleſſe meet with under the uncontrouled authority of the great lords? what repoſe do the great themſelves meet with, when awed into ſubmiſſion by the ſupercilious eye of a court minion, or the frown of a La Pompadour? This ſpecial repoſe conſiſts in a chain of oppreſſion from the throne to the beggar, encreaſing every link until the lower ranks are all tyrannized into the moſt wretched miſery. Such a people perpetually ſuffer, under the deceitful appearance of repoſe, all the miſeries that can ariſe from the worſt of faction or of civil wars.

But it would have been happier for us to have eſtabliſhed abſolute monarchy from the beginning rather than ſubmit to factions and civil wars. A moment's recollection of our own hiſtory, will give a deciſive anſwer to this ſtroke. It would have been better for this nation to have eſtabliſhed the abſolute monarchy of Charles the Firſt. Would ſuch voluntary eſtabliſhment of deſpotiſm in the Stuarts, who were the acknowledged kings, have been as eaſily ſhaken off, as the violent uſurpations of a Cromwell? What has been may be. We have experienced the good, and do all experience it, of giving the preferance to a civil war; we have found it from the beginning of our monarchy the only road to liberty: why, therefore, ſhould we ſeek repoſe in deſpotiſm, to avoid that which has ſo often lead us to freedom? The civil war in the middle of the laſt century, had every appearance of the moſt unfortunate iſſue, for it concluded in the abſolute power of an uſurper, and yet ſo unexpected a circumſtance did not prevent the moſt noble ſyſtem of liberty in the world, being founded, in ſome meaſure, on thoſe very convulſions. But had Charles II. ſucceeded to the abſolute power of his father, would he have been puſhed from his throne with as much eaſe as Richard Cromwell? Oliver's poſterity ſhould have been a ſucceſſion of the ableſt men to preſerve the power he had gained; the firſt weak man in the uſurper's line is overturned.

Not ſo with the hereditary ſucceſſors of once legal kings, to whom a voluntary gift of freedom is made. Will the Danes recover their liberty when they have a fool upon the throne?

It was impoſſible for thoſe men who drew the ſword at the revolution to foreſee that the affair would terminate without blood-ſhed. Had certain perſons directed their reſolves, they would have adviſed peaceable ſubmiſſion to the true euthanaſia of the conſtitution, to ſeek repoſe in that. But theſe nations, who owe near a century of freedom to the brave reſolutions of their patriotic anceſtors, ought to reverence their fame, and eagerly to impreſs an adequate idea of the ſacred value of freedom in the minds of their children, that it may deſcend to the loweſt poſterity; that if virtue ſhould in future ages again call for the public arm to revenge public injuries, they may ſeek their repoſe not in the tranquility of deſpotiſm, but in the ſame meaſures which ſecured it to their brave anceſtors †.

LONDON. It is certain that the number of people in London is about five times as great as at the death of queen Elizabeth; and though it cannot be ſuppoſed that the number of people in this iſland hath increaſed in the ſame proportion, yet it is certain that they have very much increaſed, as is apparent from the growth of the other great cities, the ſwelling of ſmall villages into large towns, and the raiſing on our coaſts of many new ſea-ports. It may indeed be objected, that if people remove out of the country into great towns, this augments the number of their inhabitants, but not that of the nation: but then the fact muſt be proved, which is a thing impoſſible; for ſuch as dwell in great towns conſume a larger quantity of proviſions and all other neceſſaries than ſuch as live ſcattered up and down the country; they muſt conſequently be ſupplied

† Political Eſſays, p. 68.

with

with theſe, and therefore the growth of towns muſt increaſe the number of people in the country about them. Thus the farther we trace this matter, the clearer and the more certain it appears, and therefore what is deduced from it cannot be rationally called in queſtion *.

This ingenious gentleman ſays, "but then the fact muſt be proved, which is a thing impoſſible," which is preciſely the anſwer to his own argument; how will he prove that the vaſt growth of London is not owing to the people leaving the country and flocking to it? So far from it, that nothing can be clearer than the very contrary; for I much queſtion if there is a large village in England that does not in a ſhort ſpace of time afford the capital, one of its young men or women, who have all a great idea of the riches of London, and think that ſix times the wages are to be had there as in the country; and the ſmaller towns conſtantly loſe numbers in the ſame way: add to this, the country gentlemen's reſiding the winters in London with their families, till many live there entirely. Theſe circumſtances are common to both London and Paris, but by far moſt ſo to the former, for there are not half the conveniences for the poor people to go to Paris from the provinces, as from the counties to London. They may travel ſeventy miles in England, fare and expences included, for ſeven ſhillings; regular carriages move with ſuch expedition, whereas there are not three in France that move more than an ordinary pace, the difference of which is prodigious. Croſs-roads ſhould all be good; thoſe to the capital as bad as poſſible: the very reverſe of this is the caſe.

It is likewiſe aſſerted in the above paſſage, that the conſumption of neceſſaries is greater in the capital than the country, and thereby the numbers in the latter encreaſed. I have no conception the fact is

* Preſent State of Europe, p. 308.

true. If a family poſſeſſed of a certain income reſides on their eſtate, whether it be in France or England, I am perſuaded that there is not one article of their neceſſary conſumption leſs than it would be at Paris or London: proviſions are in quantity ſuperior, for there is ever a greater plenty in their country houſes than their town ones; more poor people eat in their kitchens, and with very good reaſon, for they are known, which is the caſe with ſcarce any in town; more ſervants are infallibly kept, all the ſuperfluous ſhewy ones of the capital, with others by far more valuable to the kingdom, thoſe whoſe buſineſs is without doors; improvements are carried on in the lands or park adjoining the houſe, in a greater degree than when half the year is ſpent at London, and likewiſe for a good reaſon, the owners can much better afford it; all theſe points, and many others, occaſion a larger family than any perſon of the ſame fortune keeps in town. It may be obſerved indeed, that there are multitudes employed in the carriages which regularly communicate with London and Paris, which is true; but then, if all the towns of France and England received their ſhare of the inhabitants of theſe two cities, carriages in other parts would increaſe; but if they were to drop at once, it would be of ten times the advantage to the kingdoms reſpectively, for there is infinitely more miſchief reſults from the multiplicity of horſes they employ, than advantage in the number of men; this is a fact, but it would be too tedious to diſcuſs it at preſent. In what articles therefore this ſuperiority of conſumption conſiſts I cannot deviſe, thoſe of food, raiment, their own manufactures, that is, building, coaches, &c. All kinds of furniture, &c. would be by far more conſiderable in the country, than in the capital city; and if we conſider every trade and buſineſs whatever, employed by a family rich enough to reſide in the capital, except thoſe of de-

detrimental luxury, we ſhall find more employed by thoſe who live in the country, than by thoſe who reſide in the capital, fortunes equal.

But one great and material point remains, which is moſt favourable to population! To call great cities the graves of the human ſpecies, would by ſome be thought to favour of prejudice: but to aſſert that the increaſe of a million of people ſcattered about the country is infinitely greater, than of the ſame number cooped up in a city, is to advance a fact acknowledged by all Europe, and mathematically demonſtrable. And, this fact is of ſuch great importance as more than to balance all the advantages which the above quotation gives to great cities; if ſuch advantages are merely ideal, what muſt be the caſe then?

The laſt head under which I ſhall conſider the conſequences of ſuch great capital cities, is that of danger from an enemy. In caſes of foreign invaſions, no particular ſpot in a country ought to be of ſuch vaſt importance as to render the ſafety of it a point of more than commonly national concern: this maxim is clearly drawn from the inſtances of which I am ſpeaking. If an enemy was to break into France at the head of a victorious army, what object of more than common importance could he have in view, by ſecuring which the war would be ended at one ſtroke, but Paris? Let an army march into that city, I will not ſay its general would immediately have carte blanche offered him: but I am clear that a peace muſt be made with him immediately, or he would ſoon pay himſelf the expences of the war, for by one ſtroke he gets poſſeſſion of a five and twentieth part of the French ſubjects, and thoſe infinitely the richeſt.

Such an event at London would be ſix times as deciſive; for he would immediately command a tenth

of the Britiſh ſubjects, at the ſame time the chief part of the vaſt trade of England, and an infinite proportion of the riches of the kingdom, a neceſſary conſequence of the vaſt fabric of banks, funds, and credit which have their reſidence all at London. Indeed, the train of conſequences which would immediately follow, is almoſt inconceivable. Twenty years of otherwiſe ſucceſsful war, would not be attended with ſuch deciſive advantages.

The wretched politics therefore of ſuffering the moſt important concerns of a great kingdom, almoſt its very being and independence, to hang upon ſuch a point, muſt be extremely obvious, and diſplays in the ſtrongeſt manner the moſt pernicious effects, which, during any war, a nation is liable to, whoſe capital is ſo out of proportion to the body of the people at large. This is the reaſon that the dread of a French invaſion was always ſo great in England: had London been no larger than Briſtol, and a mere place of trade; had the ſeat of the legiſlature, government, law, and all public offices been in the centre of the kingdom, and well executed laws prevented ſuch place from growing too large, the Engliſh would not have ſuch cogent reaſons to fear, as they have ſome times done in ſo apparently puſillanimous a manner the landing of a foreign enemy. Raſh aſſertions that bear too much the face of paradoxes, I am not fond of; but I believe on cool conſideration, I ſhould not be thought to hazard one, was I to aſſert, that an enemy's marching into either Paris or London, driving the inhabitants out, and burning them to the ground, would not in the end prove a misfortune either to France or England *.

That the overgrown ſize of London is pernicious to the population of the kingdom, there can be no doubt. There can be no ſtronger proof of this than

* Letters concerning the preſent State of the French nation, p. 402.

the

the proportion between the births and burials. The difference between great cities and the country is calculated by the ingenious M. Bertrand, at 43 to 25*, and the wonder is, that it is not greater; in London it moſt indubitably is owing to the exceſſive number of people crouded into a ſmall compaſs, and the quantity of ſea coal conſumed. We cannot be ſurprized at the loſs of people in that great city, if we conſider the following facts in only one inſtance, that of infants, which I have extracted from Mr. Hanway.

Infants die at the rate of only fourteen or ſixteen in the hundred in villages fifty, a hundred, or two hundred miles from London; but there they die ſixty or ſeventy in the hundred. Upon the whole number of the bills, twenty-four die to ſixteen that are born.

The loſs of the human ſpecies in that deſtructive city will appear from the following table.

Burials within the bills of mortality for 150 years paſt, excluſive of 200,000 by the plague	2,631,137
The chriſtenings only	1,806,769
Conſequently the diminution of ſubjects by waſte in theſe cities is	824,368
Including the plague	1,024,368
This upon a medium is annually	6,829
The number upon a medium of the three years 1763, 1764, and 1765	8,089
In 150 years longer the loſs will be §	1,213,350
Even in the laſt 80 years the loſs is upwards of †.	619,000

That the plague ought to be reckoned in the loſs, no one can diſpute, ſince its rage was certainly ow-

* Memoires de la Societé de Berne, 1765, 2d part. p. 81.
§ Hanway's Letters, Vol. II. p. 131.
† Three Tracts on the Corn Trade, p. 206.

ing to the number of people crowded into a cloſe unwholſome ſpot.

The loſs of 8000 annually, inſtead of the gain of 168,000, which would be in proportion to the many villages in the country, (24 in a 100) is amazing, and when conſidered in conjunction with the loſs by war, &c. is ſufficient to explain from whence comes our loſs of one million and a half of people within a century, the calculation of modern politicians. But ſuppoſe only 10 in 100 the gain in the country, the loſs by London is near 80,000 annually; and if 5 in 100 is taken, yet it amounts to near 40,000, which is prodigious, and a powerfully pleading argument for ſtopping at leaſt all further addition to ſo pernicious a city.

I have heard great complaints of the dearneſs of living at London: it is a national misfortune, that it is not ten times dearer. To find fault with good roads, or any ſuch public conveniences in this age would have the appearance of paradox and abſurdity; but it is nevertheleſs a fact, that giving the power of expeditious travelling, depopulates the kingdom. Young men and women in the country villages fix their eye on London, as the laſt ſtage of their hope; they enter into ſervice in the country for little elſe but to raiſe money enough to go to London, which was no ſuch eaſy matter. When a ſtage coach was four or five days creeping an hundred miles, the fare and expences ran high; but now a country fellow one hundred miles from London jumps on to a coach-box in the morning, and for eight or ten ſhillings gets to town by night; which makes a material difference; beſides rendering the going up and down ſo eaſy, that the numbers who have ſeen London are encreaſed ten-fold, and of courſe ten times the boaſts are ſounded in the ears of country fools, to induce them to quit their healthy clean fields, for a region of dirt, ſtink, and noiſe.

noiſe. And the number of young women that fly thither is almoſt incredible: ſome gueſs, however, may be given from the ten thouſand which are ſaid every year to be there debauched †.

Relative to the number of houſes, &c. in London, a late writer ſays, "Upon the whole, I am forced to conclude, that the number I have given, or 651,580, though ſhort of the number of inhabitants commonly ſuppoſed in London, is very probably much greater, but cannot be leſs than the true number. Indeed, it is in general evident, that in caſes of this kind, numbers are very much overrated. The ingenious Dr. Brakenridge fourteen years ago, when the bills were lower than they are now, from the number of houſes, and allowing 6 to a houſe, made the number of inhabitans 751,800. But his method of determining the number of houſes is too precarious; and beſides, ſix to a houſe is too large an allowance. Many families now have two houſes to live in. Mr. Maitland gives two accounts of the number of houſes within the bills; one carefully taken from the books of all the pariſhes and precincts belonging to London; and another taken from a particular ſurvey, in 1737, made by himſelf with incredible pains: the firſt account makes the number of houſes 85,805; the ſecond account makes it 95,968; and the reaſon of the difference he obſerves is that many landlords of ſmall places, paying all taxes, they are in the pariſh books reckoned as ſo many ſingle houſes, though each of them contain ſeveral houſes. See Mr. Maitland's Hiſtory of London, 2d book, at the end. This perhaps may be alſo the reaſon of the deficiencies which I ſuppoſe there muſt be in the ſurvey mentioned by Dr. Brakenridge. The number of the inhabitants in London in 1737 was conſiderably greater than it is now.

† Farmer's Letters, Vol. I. p. 354.

Mr.

Mr. Maitland determines the number in that year to be 725,903.

Dr. Brakenridge obſerved that the number of inhabitants at the time he caculated was 127,000 leſs than it had been. The bills have lately advanced a little, but ſtill they are much below what they were from 1717 to 1743. London therefore for the laſt thirty years has been deceaſing; and though now it is increaſing again, yet there is reaſon to think that the additions lately made to the number of buildings round it, are owing chiefly to the increaſe of luxury, and the inhabitants requiring more room to live upon.

The increaſe of London is an event more to be dreaded than deſired. The more London increaſes, the more the reſt of the kingdom muſt be deſerted; the fewer hands muſt be left for agriculture; and conſequently the leſs muſt be the plenty, and the higher the price of all the means of ſubſiſtence. Moderate towns being ſeats of refinement, emulation and arts may be public advantages. But great towns, long before they grow to half the bulk of London, become checks on population of too hurtful a nature, nurſeries of debauchery and voluptuouſneſs, and in many reſpects greater evils than can be compenſated by any advantages. The encreaſe is greater than the bills ſhew on account of the omiſſion in them of the two pariſhes which have been moſt increaſed by new buildings; I mean Marybone and Pancraſs pariſhes. The former of theſe is, I ſuppoſe, one of the largeſt in London *.

LOUISIANA. This colony, which was once claimed by the Engliſh, then poſſeſſed by the French, and laſtly ceded to the Spaniards, inludes within its limits one of the moſt extenſive and fineſt countries in the world. It is very remarkable that France ſhould

* Price on Reverſionary Payments, p. 202.

poſſeſs

poſſeſs this country, and hold it in ſo little eſteem. But the conduct of that nation in the affairs of the American continent was always big with abſurdity: her government was always ſet upon diſtreſſing and peſtering her neighbours more than advancing her own intereſts. This induced her to make the barren wretched country of Canada the principal of her ſettlements, and inſtead of bending all her endeavours at the colonization of Louiſiana, which is in the happieſt climate, and poſſeſſes as rich a ſoil as any in the world, ſhe thought of nothing but building forts and making encroachments among the rocks, foreſts, and marſhes of Canada; from whence it was very plain ſhe ſought the opportunity of quarrelling much more than the facility of planting.

But when Britain had driven her from the northern deſarts, and left her the rich territories of the ſouth, ſtill ſhe made no efforts to improve them; but preſently, as if the poſſeſſion was burthenſome, ceded it to the Spaniards.

A French planter, who reſided ſixteen years in Louiſiana, has written an account of the country. His authority is unqueſtionable, and from his book, we learn that the excellency of the climate can no where be exceeded; that the ſoil of the high grounds is a black putrid mould, three, four, and even ſix feet deep; that it yields as fine crops of indigo as any in the world; does admirably for mulberries and ſilk worms, and that ſugar had been tried with ſucceſs. Cotton is a common production; and all the marſhes were well adapted to rice.

From hence it is evident that the efforts of France were directed to the leaſt politic part of her American concerns on the continent. Canada is a barren deſart in a northern climate, conſequently unfit for the colonies of an European power: Louiſiana, a rich fertile tract in a hot latitude, ſhe planted the firſt and neglected the laſt. This ſhould convince us, that

that our politic neighbour is not always in the right, in all her meaſures, as we are generally apt to believe.

As to the Spaniards they had before more colonies than they knew what to do with; the addition, therefore, of a country as big as half Europe, can be of no other conſequence than keeping it out of our hands. It is not very probable that they will be able to make themſelves ſtrong in Louiſiana: it can be only an artificial ſtrength of troops kept there at a great expence; this we ſhall have little reaſon to dread.

LUXURY is ever in proportion to the inequality of fortunes. If the riches of a ſtate are equally divided, there will be no luxury; for it is founded merely on the conveniences acquired by the labour of others.

In order to have that equal diſtribution of riches, the law ought to give to each man only what is neceſſary for nature. If they exceed theſe bounds ſome will ſpend, and others acquire, by which means an inequality will be eſtabliſhed. Suppoſing what is neceſſary for the ſupport of nature to be equal to a given ſum, the luxury of thoſe who have only what is barely neceſſary will be equal to a cypher; if a perſon happens to have double that ſum, his luxury will be equal to one; he that has double the latter's ſubſtance will have a luxury equal to three; if this be ſtill doubled there will be a luxury equal to ſeven; ſo that the property of the ſubſequent individual being always ſuppoſed double to that of the preceding, the luxury will encreaſe double, and an unit be always added in this progreſſion 0, 1, 3, 7, 15, 31, 63, 127.

In Plato's republic luxury might have been exactly calculated. There were four ſorts of cenſus's, or rates of eſtates. The firſt was exactly the term beyond poverty, the ſecond was double, the third triple, the fourth quadruple to the firſt. In the firſt cenſus

cenſus, luxury was equal to a cypher, in the ſecond to one, in the third to two, in the fourth to three, and thus it followed in an arithmetical proportion.

Conſidering the luxury of different nations with reſpect to one another, it is in each ſtate in a compound proportion to the inequality of fortunes; but the poverty of the whole, hinders them from having ſo much luxury, as in a more opulent government.

Luxury is alſo in proportion to the populouſneſs of the towns, and eſpecially of the capital; ſo that it is in a compound proportion to the riches of the ſtate, to the inequality of private fortunes, and to the number of people ſettled in particular places.

In proportion to the populouſneſs of towns, the inhabitants are filled with notions of vanity, and actuated by a deſire of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by trifles. If they are very numerous, and moſt of them ſtrangers to one another, their vanity redoubles, becauſe there are greater hopes of ſucceſs. As luxury inſpires theſe hopes, each man aſſumes the marks of a ſuperior condition; but by endeavouring thus at diſtinction, every one becomes equal, and diſtinction ceaſes, as all are deſirous of reſpect, nobody is regarded.

Hence ariſes a general inconveniency. Thoſe who excell in a profeſſion, ſet what value they pleaſe on their labour; this example is followed by people of inferior abilities, and then there is an end of all proportion between our wants and the means of ſatisfying them. When I am forced to go to law, I muſt be able to fee council; when I am ſick, I muſt have it in my power to fee a phyſician.

It is the opinion of ſeveral, that the aſſembling ſo great a multitude of people in capital cities, is an obſtruction to commerce, becauſe the inhabitants are no longer at a proper diſtance from each other. But I cannot think ſo; for men have more deſires,

more

more wants, more fancies, when they live together ‡.

Luxury, ſays another writer, is the child of wealth, and wealth is acquired by ſtates, as by private people, either by a lucrative or an onerous title, as the civilians ſpeak; the lucrative title by which a ſtate acquires is either by rapine, or from her mines; the onerous title, or that for a valuable conſideration, is by induſtry.

The wealth of the antient monarchs of Babylon, Perſia, Greece, and Rome, was the effect of rapine; whereas induſtry enriched the cities of Sydon, Tyre, Carthage, Athens, and Alexandria. The luxury of the firſt, proved the ruin of the luxurious; the luxury of the laſt, advanced their grandeur, becauſe they had no rivals to take advantage of the natural effects of this luxury, in cutting off the profits of foreign trade. Peace was as hurtful to the plunderers, as war was deſtructive to the induſtrious.

Antient luxury was quite arbitrary; conſequently could be laid under no limitations, but produced the worſt effects, which naturally and mechanically could proceed from it.

Modern luxury is ſyſtematical; it cannot make one ſtep but at the expence of an adequate equivalent, acquired by thoſe who ſtand the moſt in need of the protection and aſſiſtance of their fellow citizens; and without producing a vibration in the balance of their wealth. This balance is in the hands of the ſtateſman, who may receive a contribution upon every ſuch vibration. He has the reins in his hands, and may turn, reſtrain, and direct the luxury of his people towards whatever object he thinks fit *.

It is but doing juſtice to the moderns to allow, that the extenſive luxury, which daily diffuſes itſelf through every claſs of a people, is more owing to the

‡ Spirit of Laws, vol. 1. p. 137.
* Stuart's Political Oeconomy, vol. i. p. 325.

abolishing

abolishing of slaveay, the equal distribution of riches, and the circulation of an adequate equivalent for every service, than to any greater corruption of our manners, than what prevailed among the antients †.

Luxury, says another author, is a word of a very uncertain signification, and may be taken in a good, as well as in a bad sense; in general, it means great refinement in the gratification of the senses, and any degree of it may be innocent or blameable, according to the age, or country, or condition of the person. The bounds between the virtue and the vice cannot here be fixed exactly, more than in other moral subjects. To imagine that the gratifying any of the senses, or the indulging any delicacy in meats, drinks, or apparel, is of itself a vice, can never enter into the head of any one that is not disordered by the frenzies of enthusiasm. I have indeed heard of a monk, abroad, who, because the windows of his cell opened upon a very noble prospect, made a covenant with his eyes, never to turn that way, or receive so sensual a gratification, And such is the crime of drinking Champagne or Burgundy, preferably to small beer or porter. These indulgencies are only vices when they are pursued at the expence of some virtue, as liberality or charity; in like manner as they are follies, when for them a man ruins his fortune, and reduces himself to want and beggary.

Where they entrench upon no virtue, but leave ample subject whence to provide for friends, family, and every proper object of generosity or compassion, they are entirely innocent, and have, in every age, been acknowledged such by almost all moralists. Since luxury may be considered either as innocent or blameable, one may be surprized at these preposterous opinions which have been entertained concerning it; while men of libertine principles bestow praises even

† Stuart's political Oeconomy, vol. i. p. 462.

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on viſcious luxury, and repreſent it as highly advantageous to ſociety; and, on the other hand, men of ſevere morals, blame even the moſt innocent luxury, and repreſent it as the ſource of all the corruptions, diſorders, and factions, incident to civil government.

A great advantage of induſtry and of refinement in the mechanical arts, is, that they commonly produce ſome refinements in the liberal; nor can the one be carried to perfection without being accompanied in ſome degree by the other. The ſame age which produces great philoſophers and politicians, renowned generals and poets, uſually abounds with ſkilful weavers and ſhip-carpenters.

We cannot reaſonably expect that a piece of woollen cloth will be wrought to perfection in a nation that is ignorant of aſtronomy, or when ethics are neglected. The ſpirit of the age affects all the arts, and the minds of men being once rouſed from their lethargy, and put into a fermentation, turn themſelves on all ſides, and carry improvements into every art and ſcience. Profound ignorance is totally baniſhed, and men enjoy the privilege of rational creatures, to think as well as to act, to cultivate the pleaſures of the mind, as well as thoſe of the body.

The more theſe refined arts advance, the more ſociable do men become, nor is it poſſible, that when inriched with ſcience, and poſſeſſed of a fund of converſation, they ſhould be contented to remain in ſolitude, or live with their fellow citizens, in that diſtant manner which is peculiar to ignorant and barbarous nations. They flock into cities, love to receive and communicate knowledge, to ſhew their wit or their breeding, their taſte in converſation, or living in cloaths or furniture. Curioſity allures the wiſe, vanity the fooliſh, and pleaſure both. Particular clubs and ſocieties are every where formed; both ſexes meet in an eaſy and ſociable manner, and the tempers of men as well as their behaviour refine apace.

apace. So that beſides the improvements which they receive from knowledge and the liberal arts, it is impoſſible but they muſt feel an increaſe of humanity, from the very habit of converſing together, and contributing to each other's pleaſure and entertainment. Thus induſtry, knowledge, and humanity, are linked together by an indiſſoluble chain, and are found from experience, as well as reaſon, to be peculiar to the more poliſhed, and, what are commonly denominated, the more luxurious ages.

Nor are theſe advantages attended with diſadvantages which bear any proportion to them. The more men refine upon pleaſure, the leſs will they indulge in exceſſes of any kind; becauſe nothing is more deſtructive to true pleaſure than ſuch exceſſes. One may ſafely affirm, that the Tartars are oftener guilty of beaſtly gluttony, when they feaſt on their dead horſes, than European courtiers with all their refinements of cookery. And if libertine love, or even infidelity to the marriage bed, be more frequent in polite ages, when it is often regarded only as a piece of gallantry, drunkenneſs, on the other hand, is much leſs common, a vice more odious and more pernicious both to mind and body. And in this matter, I would appeal not only to an Ovid or a Petronius, but to a Seneca or a Cato. We know that Cæſar, during Cataline's conſpiracy, being neceſſitated to put into Cato's hands a billet doux, which diſcovered an intrigue with Servilia, Cato's own ſiſter, that ſtern philoſopher threw it back to him with indignation; and in the bitterneſs of his wrath gave him the appellation of drunkard, as a term more opprobrious than that with which he could more juſtly have reproached him.

Nor need we fear that men by loſing their ferocity will loſe their martial ſpirit, or become leſs undaunted and vigorous in defence of their country or their liberty. The arts have no ſuch effect in enervating

vating either the mind or the body. On the contrary, induſtry, their inſeparable attendant, adds new force to both. And if anger, which is ſaid to be the whetſtone of courage, loſes ſomewhat of its aſperity, by politeneſs and refinement, a ſenſe of honour, which is a ſtronger, more conſtant, and more governable principle, acquires freſh vigour by that elevation of genius which ariſes from knowledge and a good education. Add to this, that courage can neither have any duration, nor be of any uſe, when not accompanied with diſcipline and martial ſkill, which are ſeldom found among a barbarous people. The antients remarked that Datames was the only barbarian that ever knew the art of war. And Pyrrhus ſeeing the Romans marſhal their army with ſome art and ſkill, ſaid, with ſurprize, "Theſe barbarians have nothing barbarous in their diſcipline!" It is obſervable that as the old Romans, by applying themſelves ſolely to war, were the only uncivilized people that ever poſſeſſed military diſcipline; ſo the modern Italians are the only civilized people among Europeans that ever wanted courage and martial ſpirit. Thoſe who would aſcribe this effeminacy of the Italians to their luxury or politeneſs, or application to the arts, need but conſider the French and Engliſh, whoſe bravery is as inconteſtible as their love for luxury, and their aſſiduity in commerce. The Italian hiſtorians give us a more ſatisfactory reaſon for this degeneracy of their countrymen. They ſhew us how the ſword was dropt at once by all the Italian ſovereigns; while the Venetian ariſtocracy was jealous of its ſubjects, the Florentine democracy applied itſelf entirely to commerce. Rome was governed by the prieſts, and Naples by women, war then became the buſineſs of ſoldiers of fortune, who ſpared one another, and to the aſtoniſhment of the world, could engage a whole day in what they called a battle, and return at night to their camp without the leaſt bloodſhed. What

What has chiefly induced ſevere moraliſts to declaim againſt refinement in the arts is the example of antient Rome, which, joining to its poverty and ruſticity, virtue and public ſpirit roſe to ſuch a ſurprizing height of grandeur and liberty; but having learned from its conquered provinces the Aſiatic luxury, fell into every kind of corruption, whence aroſe ſedition and civil wars, attended at laſt with the total loſs of liberty. All the Latin claſſics whom we peruſe in our infancy are full of theſe ſentiments, and univerſally aſcribe the ruin of their ſtate to the arts and riches imported from the Eaſt. But it would be eaſy to prove that theſe writers miſtook the cauſe of the diſorders in the Roman ſtate, and aſcribed to luxury and the arts, what really proceeded from an ill modelled government and the unlimited extent of conqueſts. Refinement on the pleaſures and conveniencies of life, has no natural tendency to beget venality and corruption. The value which all men put upon any particular pleaſure, depends on compariſon and experience; nor is a porter leſs greedy of money, which he ſpends on bacon and brandy, than a courtier who purchaſes champagne and ortolans.

Riches are valuable at all times and to all men, becauſe they always purchaſe pleaſures, ſuch as men are accuſtomed to and deſire. Nor can any thing reſtrain or regulate the love of money, but a ſenſe of honour and virtue; which if it be not nearly equal at all times, will naturally abound moſt in ages of knowledge and refinement.

The liberties of England ſo far from decaying ſince the improvements in the arts, have never flouriſhed ſo much as during that period. And though corruption may ſeem to increaſe of late years, this is chiefly to be aſcribed to our eſtabliſhed liberty, when our princes have found the impoſſibility of governing without parliaments, or of terrifying parliaments by the phantom of prerogative. Not to mention

that this corruption or venality prevails infinitely more among the electors than the elected; and therefore cannot juſtly be aſcribed to any refinements in luxury.

If we conſider the matter in a proper light, we ſhall find that improvements in the arts are rather favourable to liberty, and have a natural tendency to preſerve if not produce a free government. In rude unpoliſhed nations, where the arts are neglected, all the labour is beſtowed on the cultivation of the ground: and the whole ſociety is divided into two claſſes, proprietors of land, and their vaſſals or tenants. The latter are neceſſarily dependant and fitted for ſlavery and ſubjection; eſpecially where they poſſeſs no riches, and are not valued for their knowledge in agriculture, as muſt always be the caſe where the arts are neglected. The former naturally erect themſelves into petty tyrants; and muſt either ſubmit to an abſolute maſter for the ſake of peace and order; or, if they will preſerve their independency, like the antient barons, they muſt fall into feuds and conteſts among themſelves, and throw the whole ſociety into ſuch confuſion, as is perhaps worſe than the moſt deſpotic government. But where luxury nouriſhes commerce and induſtry, the peaſants by a proper cultivation of the land, become rich and independent, while the tradeſmen and merchants acquire a ſhare of the property, and draw authority and conſideration to that middling rank of men, who are the beſt and firmeſt baſis of public liberty. Theſe ſubmit not to ſlavery like the poor peaſants, from poverty and meanneſs of ſpirit, and having no hopes of tyrannizing over others like the barons, they are not tempted for the ſake of that gratification, to ſubmit to the tyranny of their ſovereign. They covet equal laws, with which they may ſecure their property, and preſerve them from monarchical, as well as ariſtocratical tyranny *.

* Hume's Eſſays, vol. i. p. 306.

MACHINES.

M.

MACHINES. There are many manufactures of ſo exceedingly complicated a frame, that the price of labour, were it as low as poſſible, would conſume almoſt all the profits. In ſuch, machines have been introduced, and are of infinite benefit; the experience of which has extended them to a few other caſes, and in whatever works they are uſed, they infallibly lower the prices greatly of all the goods that are made by means of them. This is a fact ſo well and univerſally known, that no perſon aſſigns the want of more to their not fully anſwering the ends expected, but in general, to an opinion embraced by ſome, that, they ſhould not be extended too far, on account of depriving numbers of people of their employment; but, as others have advanced arguments to the contrary, I ſhall lay the ſtate of the controverſy before the reader, and afterwards endeavour to extract the truth.

Monteſquieu ſays, "Thoſe machines which are deſigned to abridge art, are not always uſeful. If a piece of workmanſhip is of a moderate price, ſuch as is equally agreeable to the maker and to the buyer, thoſe machines which would render the manufactory more ſimple, or, in other words, diminiſh the number of workmen, would be pernicious."

Another likewiſe obſerves, "Nor can there be any reaſon for diſcouraging or diſcontinuing theſe minute advantageous labours, till a kingdom is found (upon ſome other accounts) to abate in its populouſneſs. Hence it is, that all inventions which perform the work of twenty people with one pair of hands, are upon the whole detrimental, rather than uſeful, in a well peopled country, except you

can have ſure and quick vent for what commodities you *thus* produce."

M. de Boulainvilliers enters more particularly into the debate: "A malady," ſays he, "is expanded over our arts. I would ſpeak of machines which tend to ſimplify and diminiſh the labour in our manufactures. The cabinets of our miniſters are every day filled with projects for machines, proper for leſſening the number of hands employed in our fabrics. From hence it reſults, that a multitude of artizans in France are become uſeleſs, and muſt offer their induſtry to others. I do not ſpeak only of ſprings and movements; all the manufactures of the kingdom will ſoon form themſelves; they will be in no want of artizans. The firſt object of manufactures, is employment; or, what is the ſame thing, of giving ſubſiſtence to a great number of men. Wandering from this principle, is contradicting the inſtitution itſelf of the arts; it is diminiſhing the number of men; for every time that we place bounds to ſubſiſtence, we do the ſame to population. So eſtabliſhed is our prejudice, and ſo generally is it received, that we are come to confound the product of induſtry with the means of ſubſiſtence, which ought to create induſtry; two things very different in their principle and object. Let us ſuppoſe a manufactory to employ ten thouſand citizens; and, on the other hand, five hundred machines, which produce the ſame amount of labour, in the ſame art. It is certain, that the firſt gives a living to a much greater number of ſubjects; and therefore compleats a much more important object. The maintenance of ten thouſand artizans, who draw their ſubſiſtence from a branch of induſtry, forms in the ſtate a multitude of other ſmaller manufactures. But to ſet the inconvenience of this prejudice in the ſtronger light, we muſt begin by curing another; I ſpeak

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to thoſe who eſtabliſh it as a principle, that when a machine diminiſhes the artizans of one art, that they directly apply themſelves to another. Since the taſte of mankind is ſo very refined, and that one great luxury always ſucceeds another, the arts become ſo complicated, that a man has not time, in the courſe of his life, to maſter above one. If he loſes that by any accident, he can never have any hope of replacing it: if it was not ſo, we ſhould not find in every revolution which happens in an art, ſo many idle men, and ſo great a number of uſeleſs ſubjects. It is objected, (and here lies the ſtrength of their ſyſtem) that machines, in diminiſhing the price of labour, bring in great riches to the ſtate: but they do not bring in to their account, the precarious manner in which theſe riches are diſtributed; they concern only a ſmall number of particulars, the proprietors of the machines. They cannot demonſtrate geometrically, that a ſum of ten millions, which circulates amongſt fifty thouſand manufacturers, is better for the ſtate than one of an hundred, which circulates amongſt a thouſand *."

Theſe are the chief writers I know, that are *againſt* the introduction of machines. Let us now take a view of thoſe that are *for* them.

M. Bertrand ſays, "It ſeems there are certain ſpeculators who apprehend danger from the introduction of thoſe machines, which ſhorten labour: but if they ſometimes diſtreſs the workmen, it is never for a continuance. In a land of induſtry, the more people the more employment, and the greater choice. For example, one would have thought, that the diſcovery of printing would have ſtarved the copyiſts; inſtead of which, there are more than ever. Beſides the printers, compoſitors,

* Les Interets de la France mal entendus, tom. iii. p. 272.

correctors, book-sellers, paper-makers, there are a thousand times more authors than there were in the fifteenth century. And how many more workmen might yet have employment, if, like the industrious Chinese, we discovered the admirable secret of rewhitening written paper. It is said, that near Pekin there is a village intirely inhabited by workmen, who clean old paper. The necessity of subsistence, animates industry, and doubles it †."

A sensible writer, in our own language, speaks as follows upon this subject: "Since the price of a manufacture depends so much on the wages paid, and the numbers employed in making it, so consequently the *fewer* that shall be employed about it, the *cheaper* will be the manufacture. Now, in order to complete a work by few hands, engines and machines are contrived, to supply the place of a greater number; by the help of which, the most curious pieces of art may be finished in a little time, and at a small expence. The Dutch, who never spare industry where money is to be got by it, yet make use of engines and machines, wherever they can make them answer the purpose, and save the expence of labour. Instances of this appear in the great number of mills for sawing of stones and wood, which, by the guidance of one or two men, perform the work of a multitude. Here it may seem strange, that in a discourse concerning the benefit of employing our people, a recommendation should be offered of that which must destroy the necessity of their labour. All that can be alledged in answer to this is, that since other nations do make use of such engines, and are thereby enabled to offer their productions at a low rate, it is in vain for us to persevere in toilsome methods, which will lay us under an obligation to

† Berne Mem. 1765. tom. ii. p. 119.

demand

demand larger prices for our commodities, in proportion to the greater coſt in making them †."

In Sir James Stewart's *Inquiry*, I find the ſubject fully debated. "A machine which will abridge the labour of men, cannot be introduced, *all at once*, into an extenſive manufacture, without throwing many people into idleneſs. The introductions of machines can, I think, in no other way prove hurtful by making people idle, than by the ſuddenneſs of it: and I have frequently obſerved, that all ſudden revolutions, let them be ever ſo advantageous, muſt be accompanied with inconveniencies. I want to make a rampart croſs a river, in order to eſtabliſh a bridge, a mill, a ſluice, &c. for this purpoſe I muſt turn off the water, that is, ſtop the river: would it be a good objection againſt my improvement to ſay, that the water would overflow the neighbouring lands, as if I could be ſuppoſed ſo improvident, as not to have prepared a new channel for it? Machines ſtop the river; it is the buſineſs of the ſtate to make the new channel, as it is the public which is to reap the benefit of the ſluice. If the machine proves hurtful, it can only be becauſe it preſents the ſtate with an additional number of hands bred to labour; conſequently, if theſe are afterwards found without bread, it muſt proceed from a want of attention in the ſtateſman; for an induſtrious man made idle, may conſtantly be employed to advantage, and with profit to him who employs him. What could an act of naturalization do more, than furniſh induſtrious hands forced to be idle, and demanding employment? Machines, therefore, I conſider as a means of augmenting (virtually) the number of the induſtrious, without the expence of feeding an additional number: this by no means obſtructs natural or uſeful

† Laws and Policy of England, &c. p. 42.

population,

population, for the moſt obvious reaſons. We have ſhewn how population muſt go on in proportion to ſubſiſtence, and in proportion to induſtry. Now the machine eats nothing, ſo does not diminiſh induſtry; and induſtry (in our age at leaſt) is in no danger of being over-ſtocked in any well-governed ſtate; for, let all the world copy your improvements, they ſtill will be the ſcholars. And if, on the contrary, in the introduction of machines, you are found to be the ſcholars of other nations, in that caſe, you are brought to the dilemma of accepting the invention, with all its inconveniencies, or of renouncing every foreign communication. Upon the whole, daily experience ſhews the advantage and improvement acquired by the introduction of machines. Let the inconveniencies complained of be ever ſo ſeverely felt, let a ſtateſman be ever ſo careleſs in relieving thoſe who are forced to be idle, all theſe inconveniencies are only temporary: the advantage is permanent. And the neceſſity of introducing every method of abridging labour and expence, in order to ſupply the wants of luxurious mankind, is abſolutely indiſpenſable, according to modern policy, according to experience, and according to reaſon. An expedient found to operate moſt admirable effects in reducing the price of manufactures (in thoſe countries where living is rendered dear by a hurtful competition among the inhabitants for the ſubſiſtence produced) is the invention and introduction of machines. There is no ſolidity in the objections to them; and if there were, we are not at preſent in queſt of places for feeding the poor, but for accumulating the wealth of a trading nation, by enabling the induſtrious to feed themſelves, at the expence of foreigners. The introduction of machines is found to reduce prices in a ſurpriſing manner: and if they have the effect of taking bread

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from hundreds, formerly employed in performing their ſimple operation, they have that alſo of giving bread to thouſands, by extending numberleſs branches of ingenuity, which, without the machines, would have remained circumſcribed within very narrow limits. What progreſs has not building made within theſe hundred years? Who doubts that the conveniency of great iron works, and ſaw-mills, prompts many to build? And this taſte has contributed greatly to increaſe, not diminiſh, the number of carpenters and ſmiths, as well as to extend navigation. I ſhall only add, in favour of ſuch expedients, that experience ſhews the advantage gained by certain machines, is more than enough to compenſate every inconvenience ariſing from conſolidated profits, and expenſive living; and that the firſt inventors gain there, by a ſuperiority which nothing but adopting the ſame invention can counterbalance *."

It appears clearly to me, that the writers *for* machines have greatly the advantage of the argument. Monteſquieu's ſuppoſition of the moderate price between buyer and ſeller, deſtroys the total effect of his opinion; becauſe, there is no ſuch thing as that moderate price: the moment one mercantile nation offers manufactures cheaper than another, it will command the trade, be the former price as moderate as may be, and ſtarve the rival workmen.

Mr. Harte likewiſe condemns their uſe, only in caſe of not poſſeſſing *a ſure and quick vent for the goods thus produced*, but the very end of machines is the acquiſition of ſuch a quick vent; nor can any ſale be ſo ſure, as that which is founded upon cheapneſs of price. If the machine does not anſwer theſe purpoſes, it will fall of itſelf.

* Principles of Political Oeconomy, vol. i p. 119.

M. de Boulainvilliers's objection to machines, is founded upon their taking bread from numbers, who, he inſiſts, cannot earn it by a new employment; and aſſerts, that the riches procured by them are uſeleſs, from the few hands they come into. But Sir James Stewart fully anſwers the two firſt of theſe objections, by proving, that machines give employment to thouſands, by an additional conſumption. The objection to the inequality of the poſſeſſion of the riches acquired by machines, is not, indeed, expreſsly anſwered; becauſe, it is ſuch an one as nobody could have expected. M. de B. ſhould certainly have remembered, that money cannot enter a trading manufacturing country without circulating; and it cannot circulate, without cauſing employment: indeed, the very term means no more, than payment for merchandize, goods, or labour, received. The objection to the uſe of machines, therefore, urged by theſe authors, are more than anſwered by the others, and the point eſtabliſhed, that it is highly expedient to uſe them. But I ſhall venture a few remarks, before I diſmiſs the ſubject, on thoſe points, which I think the above quoted writers *for* machines, have not fully explained.

The examples there produced, of the practice of other nations, are very pertinent. If the French or Dutch underſell us, by means of machines, it would be highly impolitic not to copy them. I have already remarked the danger of being undersold by foreigners, even in one article, and ſhewn that the loſs of ſeveral, and laſtly, of a whole trade, follows that of a trifle. The French begin to underſell us in a commodity at Liſbon, the manufacturing of which employs five thouſand induſtrious hands. In this ſituation, a machine is invented, which will make the old quantity of that commodity, with the labour only of one thouſand hands:

hands: it is eſtabliſhed, and the trade regained at once, with ſecurity. In this caſe, four thouſand hands are rendered idle, and deprived of bread. Let me even extend the ſuppoſition farther than is neceſſary, and ſuppoſe the legiſlature to take no care to provide them with freſh employment, the misfortune is a very great one: but let us reverſe the medal; inſtead of acting in this manner, we aim only, by common means, to regain the market, and of courſe meet with no ſucceſs. They increaſe their exportations, and, in the courſe of ten or a dozen years, we find our exportation of this commodity at an end, dwindled to nothing. The difference of theſe caſes is only that of four thouſand at once being out of employment in the one, and four hundred annually in the other: but then comes a difference infinitely greater; with this branch, our rivals have wormed us out of three or four others; and at the end of twenty years more, very probably have driven us fairly out of the whole trade, to the deprivation (though gradually) of the work of forty thouſand people. Let no one imagine this ſuppoſition too extended. View the preſent ſtate of our Levant and Spaniſh exportations; recollect what they were once; and dread the being underſold in a yard of tape as a ſure fore-runner of the loſs of a whole trade. No one ſurely can, in this caſe, aſſert, that the machine is not of very ſuperior benefit. Let us imagine another caſe.

In the infancy of a new manufacture, which bids fair, if wrought cheap enough, to be of conſiderable importance, difficulties are found in fixing a proper price for exportation; the labour requiſite is much, and complicated; the aſpect of the undertaking lowers. A machine is introduced that ſimplifies the performance, and lowers the price forty per cent: exportation ſucceeds, the manufactur

nufacture flouriſhes, and the nation is enriched. Where is the miſchief of this machine? M. Boulainvilliers makes no diſtinctions. How many inhabitants the leſs does this country poſſeſs on account of our preſent machines, our ſilk-mills, our ſtocking-frames, water-mills, wind-mills, iron and copper works?

Foreigners are in poſſeſſion of a branch of exportation, wrought by induſtrious hands, out of which we want to beat them. In what manner ſhall we form the endeavour? By the expenſive round of labour, or by a machine? It is odds, if the firſt anſwers; the invention of the latter inſures ſucceſs †.

Political Eſſays, p. 217.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.